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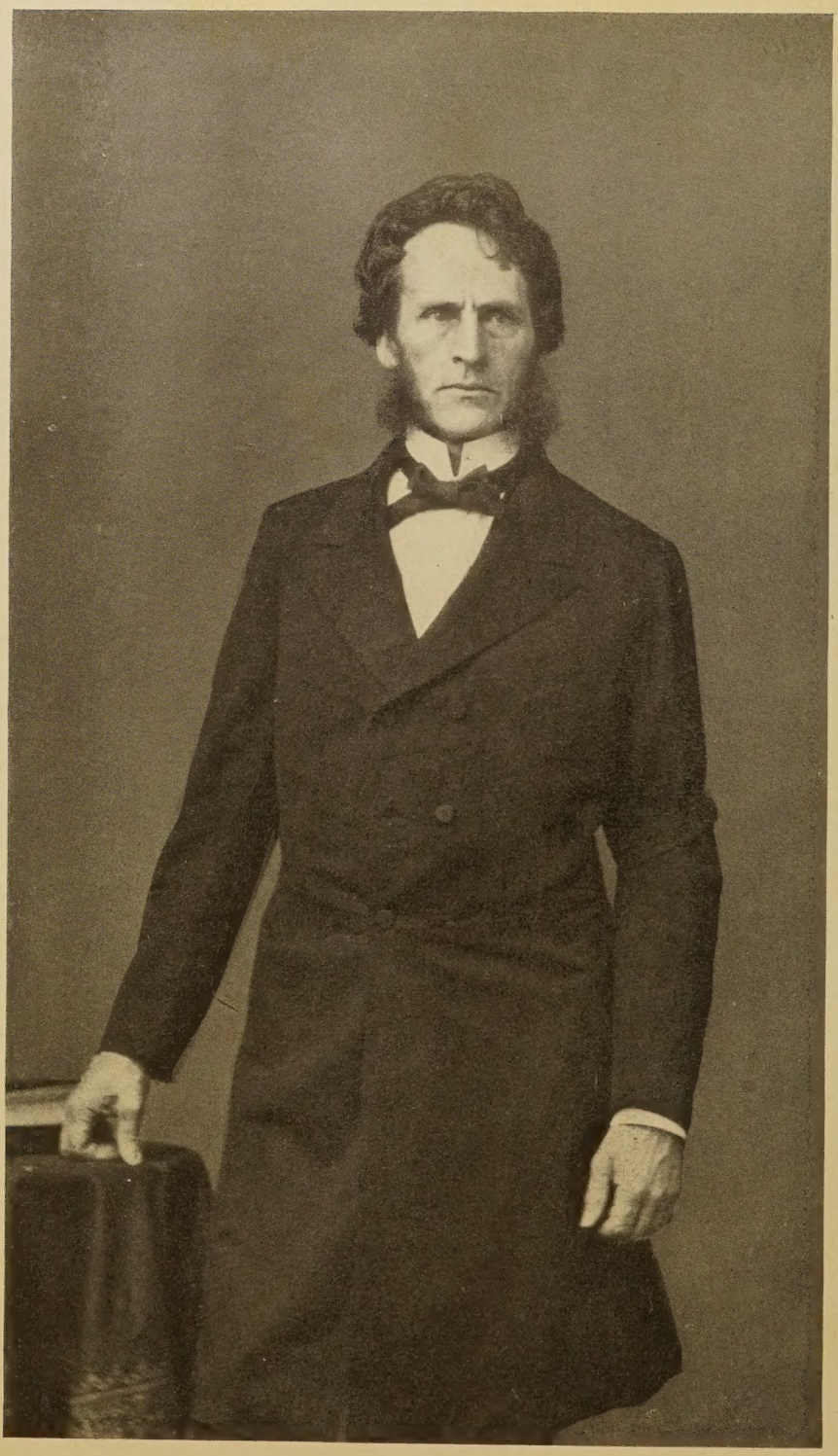
RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE



A.D. 1817 John Bigelow A.D. 1865

President Lincoln's second Minister to France

RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE

BY

JOHN BIGELOW

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1863—1865

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RETROSPECTIONS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE

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I

REQUEST TO BE RELIEVED OF THE CONSULATE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, May 24, 1863.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I HAVE a favor to ask of you. I wish to be relieved from my consular functions.

In making such a request at this time I hope it is unnecessary for me to assure you that I have no disposition to shrink from any duty or service by which our country can profit, at no matter what personal sacrifice. But I have become convinced that my official position rather diminishes than increases my means of usefulness for any except the mere routine duties of the office, and for those, hundreds may be found more competent than myself.

It seems to me that our relations with Europe have passed into such a phase as no longer to require the kind of service which you hoped to find me capable of rendering; but if it were otherwise I am persuaded that I could make myself more useful here in a private station than in my present position. I had reached this conclusion more than a year ago and men-

tioned it to Mr. Weed, but forbore to say anything on the subject to you then, because he thought it an unpropitious time to agitate such a change, as it probably was. I do not think the same objection exists to a change now and therefore I submit the matter to your judgment.

This place should be held by a person wishing to make a consular career and thus adding every year to his official value. I perhaps did wrong in accepting it with no such expectation; but I was told that the duties were very inconsiderable and would easily be discharged by subordinates. That reconciled me to the contraction of engagements which I supposed I could relinquish without prejudice to any public interest when I pleased. But I find it a place of considerable and rapidly increasing responsibility and the sooner it passes into other hands the better I am sure it will be for all concerned.

When I came out I had plans for the employment of my leisure of which I hoped to have considerable, but as yet I have found little or no opportunity of prosecuting them, so that my stay here, which involves very considerable expense, has yielded me none of the personal advantages which I had contemplated and is not therefore worth prolonging under what my experience has taught me to consider the official disadvantages.

I shall always feel grateful to you for the friendship which prompted my appointment and the kind words with which you have so frequently cheered me in the discharge of its duties; nor shall I neglect any opportunity of testifying my appreciation of them, even by remaining here if you think it best.

Should you not find it convenient to replace me I would be very glad if possible to profit by the approaching summer when all the world is abroad and when there is least to do here requiring familiarity with consular duties, to give my family as well as myself the benefit of a change of air for three or four months, of which we all stand greatly in need.

Mr. Brooks, my vice-consul, is an intelligent and faithful man; he is perfectly conversant with all the details of the office and he is very popular with the Americans. With his aid my successor will be able to master all the routine of the consulate in a short time and with very little trouble.

Should the course of events at home lead me to suppose that

I could be of any special service to the government here, I should of course do my utmost; but for that service my consular position gives no advantages but as I said before is rather an embarrassment.

Faithfully and gratefully yours.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

May 29, 1863.

Dear Sir:

The elections which have entirely absorbed public attention for the past month will take place on Sunday or Monday next. The government has entered into the contest with more feeling than was either dignified or prudent. M. Persigny's invocation against M. Thiers has united the opposition and now his election is generally considered assured, not only in Paris but in two other departments where he has been nominated.[1] The

[1] The Comte de Viel-Castel writes: "The Emperor wishes a Corps Législatif more than devoted, because that in his forecasts, or rather in his intentions, is anchored the idea of which Poland would be the pretext and a Rhine frontier the motive.

"The awakening of the liberal sentiment creates discontent, and Persigny is determined at all hazards to have good elections (*bonnes élections*), and we know how easy it is to obtain them. We are reminded of little communes having only thirty electors which have furnished fifty-six votes for the official candidates.

"Persigny has by his brutality great influence over Napoleon III.'s obstinate but gentle nature. In a discussion in which the Emperor affirmed something which Persigny did not admit, the Emperor said: 'I give you my word.' Persigny shrugged his shoulders, and, interrupting him, said: 'And have you a word?' (*Est-ce que vous avez une parole?*)"

On the 28th of May, 1863, the Comte de Viel-Castel writes again: "Some days ago Morny and Persigny had a very long altercation before the Emperor apropos of the elections. Morny reproached Persigny with his want of tact in conducting the elections, especially with his opposition to M. Thiers. He thought the candidature of this eminent man should not have been combated by the Government.

"Persigny flew into a passion, as is often his habit, and ended with these words: 'You don't understand this country; it has to be governed by force.' All the world thinks that Persigny becomes more and more intolerable." (Mémoires du Comte de Viel-Castel. Paris, 1884.)

defeat of the government, under the circumstances, will be far more damaging to it than the historian's success without opposition could possibly have been. It is generally supposed that the opposition will number between 20 and 30 instead of four in the last House. I do not think these estimates are based upon any very reliable data but they seem to be quite generally adopted among the opposition. Should they be disappointed and should the elections show that France is content with the present government my impression is that it will lead to an important emigration to the United States, important in point of quality rather than numbers, about which in due time I will write you. With any sign of a change in the general policy of the government there will be some demonstrations of discontent here either by revolution or emigration before long. I heard yesterday of a serious *émeute* which occurred in the department of Champagne which had a threatening appearance. Some three or four hundred peasants surrounded the carriage of Count Plancy, proprietor of the Château Jeu, and threatened to throw him into the water, to break open the château, etc., and the Count only escaped with whole bones by distributing 1,500 francs among them. Of course the press gives no intimation of such state of things. I had the facts from a sewing woman who had lived with us and who was in the service of the Count and a witness of what I relate. She says the Count was afraid to remain at the château and had removed all his establishment, driving to a depot two or three leagues distant to take the cars, not daring to let his neighbors know that he was going off. She says the distress of the poor is heartrending; that they wander about in the forests digging up roots and picking anything they can find that contains nourishment. They made this descent upon Count Plancy, it is charged, because he would do nothing for them, took no interest in their condition and occupied himself solely with his personal pleasures.

I don't suppose there is any serious danger of any general movement against the government, but public opinion is in a very volcanic state and I know that some of the first minds in France see no issue for her out of her present political strait but in revolution, and who pretend that if they cannot have revolution they will abandon France. These men too are not men who properly belong to the revolutionary classes of other

days; they are not people who take counsel of an empty stomach.

No one can be said to have a European reputation till he has had his face put upon the rack of an illustrated journal. I congratulate you upon having reached that bad eminence. I send you a copy of the *Univers* in which you may see your counterfeit presentment as it is exhibited in the saloons of our gay metropolis.

Yours very sincerely

The election was held on the 31st of May. The candidates of the opposition triumphed over the candidates of the Government by a large majority—Thiers, Picard, Darimont, Émile Ollivier, Jules Favre, Pelletan, Havin, Berryer, etc. It was a check for the Government, but a yet more serious one for Persigny, who, at the request of the Emperor, sent in his resignation three days after the result of the election was announced.

The opposition to the Government till then had been known as the Cinq, the Five, that being the number of pronounced anti-Imperialists in the Chamber. The election had increased the number of "non-officials," as they were called, to thirty-five—not a large number, to be sure, but among them were four at least of the best parliamentary orators in France. It was in this way, said the opposition, that Paris revenged the 2d of December.

THAYER TO BIGELOW

Alexandria, June 3, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

The works on the Suez Canal, I am told, go on as usual, and M. de Lesseps, who went to France the other day, says he has no fear of a stoppage. I am of his opinion for the reason that France has much more interest to push the enterprise than

England has to defeat it, and the pressure will be more steady in favor than against. The French here monopolize the attention of the Viceroy, and the English Government, while it grumbles, has not the requisite tact to checkmate them. It is possible the company will have to surrender the immense tracts of lands ceded to it, for a pecuniary consideration, but forced labor it cannot. Their corvées however differ from ordinary Egyptian corvées in being tolerably well paid. The English cannot carry on their overland transit here without forced labor, for which, of course, they pay.

M. Benedetti,[1] late French Minister at Turin, has just left here. A friend of his says that from having been an ardent anti-slavery friend of our government at the beginning of the war, he is dead against us, says France got nothing but insults in exchange for the offer of mediation, taunts England with craven submission to our kicks and cuffs. B. is said to have got his money by marrying a rich Greek girl, when he was *élevé-consul* here. By birth he is Corsican; just now he is said to be in disfavor with the Emperor. Prince Napoleon and wife are in Upper Egypt. He has accepted a public dinner here on condition that there shall be no speeches.

Yours truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, June 6, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I regret very much that you wish to resign your Consulate. You have done the country very good service there and I know no way in which you could serve her better than you can by remaining and, at the same time, I do not know any person who could fill your place satisfactorily. Pray consider.

Faithfully yours

[1] This is the gentleman who later became famous as the French Ambassador to Prussia and whom the Germans held responsible for bringing on the war with France by too importunately insisting that King William should pledge himself that his Hohenzollern kinsman should never accept the crown of Spain.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

PARIS, June 12, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I learned last evening upon authority certainly worthy of notice that orders have been issued to have every vessel of war in the French navy yards put in sailing order and equipped for sea. This comes to me from one of the telegraph operators with whom I have relations and who mentioned it as a fact which had reached him through his colleagues who talk over among themselves the purport of the dispatches. Incidental to that I ought to mention that the camp at Châlons is now forming and the Emperor will visit it in company with the young king of Portugal next week. In this camp there will be gathered from 150 to 175,000 men who will be only six or seven hours from the Rhine by the Strasbourg railway.

The result of the elections has evidently disappointed the Emperor and has forced him to attempt something to divert public attention from the deliberations of the Corps Législatif, and from the preliminary debates of the salons which are no less mischievous, something to rally around him the public sentiment of the nation sadly alienated by his foreign and domestic policy during the past year. During that time he has not gained one friend that he has not bought. He is now cultivating this Polish question in hopes of finding a pretext for marching to the Rhine.

It is impossible to explain these preparations in any other way, for of course Mexico does not need a tithe of the force he is equipping for sea. His success before Puebla will encourage him in his European project.

We are waiting anxiously for news from Vicksburg.

Yours very truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, June 15, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I shall try to procure for you, to present to the Geographical Society, books of the kind specified.

I forbear from comments on elections in France upon the same prudential considerations which always lead me to forbear from discussion of partisan questions at home.

I thank you for the *Univers*. The other papers mentioned by you have not yet come.

It is gratifying to learn that your book is successful. This good report comes to me from several other sources. I wish that the work might go through many editions.

What I wrote you dissuading from a resignation was submitted to the President, and he expressed a very earnest desire that you shall remain at your post. It is difficult to decide upon a question of the weather, in contemplation of the aspect of the clouds at a particular moment. It is so in regard to political questions. Nevertheless I am inclined to think the insurrection is at the dead point. If that point is not passed effectively, the momentum will be diminished.

So much seems depending on the events imminent at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, that it would be impossible to speculate upon military operations. The war seems to have ceased to disturb the social, industrial, and commercial affairs of the country. All these go on apparently as if peace was prevailing at home, and as if the war which we are waging had for a theatre a foreign country. Even our foreign trade increases in volume, notwithstanding our blockade and the depredations of privateers. The public credit steadily improves, and immigration is revived with extraordinary vigor.

Yours very sincerely

Among the numerous letters of acknowledgment that I received from those who read the book referred to by Mr. Seward, there was one that left upon my mind a profound and not altogether pleasant impression. It was from M. Guizot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, under whose administration his sovereign was obliged to flee from France in disguise, an exile for life.

J'ai parcouru avec beaucoup d'intérêt, Monsieur, l'ouvrage que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer sur les États-Unis d'Amérique en 1863. Je l'ai trouvé plein de faits curieux présentés avec beaucoup d'ordre et de clarté. Personne ne déplore plus vivement que moi la guerre civile qui désole votre patrie, et ne fait plus de vœux pour qu'elle redevienne vraiment *les États-Unis d'Amérique.* Ce serait un grand malheur et une grande honte pour l'humanité que la sagesse et la vertu de Washington et de sa génération n'eussent pas réussi à assurer au gouvernement qu'elles ont fondé un siècle de vie.

Recevez, Monsieur, avec mes remercîments, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distingué.

GUIZOT.

VAL-RICHER, 21 juin 1863.

I was never able to read this letter without a suspicion that M. Guizot had already made up his mind that Washington and his generation had practically failed to assure to the Government which they founded a century of longevity, and that the statesmen and the soldiers who were then struggling, at an almost incalculable sacrifice of blood and treasure, for the integrity of the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution which Washington helped to form, and also for the restriction of slavery, to which unfortunately it was never one of Washington's glories to contribute, had already incurred the misfortune and shame which Guizot professed to deplore.

At all events, though anything but a partisan of the Emperor, I do not remember that Guizot ever gave public expres-

sion of sympathy with us in our struggle for the freedom of the blacks except once, and that was after the insurgents had laid down their arms.

GOVERNOR E. D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

35 Lafayette Place,
New York, June 16, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I write this note at my house this evening that it may go by the *Persia* tomorrow. I have procured some maps through Professor A. D. Bache of the Coast Survey which I expect in time tomorrow for the *Persia.* When I visit Washington I may get from the Navy Department others of interest to you. Will you please procure and send by Geo. D. a pamphlet or whatever will give the necessary information in relation to the organization, etc. etc. of the French hospital for invalid soldiers? I have interested myself in getting up a Hospital for Invalid Soldiers in this state. We have our Charter. Have chosen trustees, and we are just about thinking of the plan upon which it shall be conducted. We presume upon success in raising the funds. We have not one dollar yet, but it is better to anticipate success than failure in this respect. Therefore I venture to ask for all the information you can give us about the way and mode of management of the Paris Hospital, for which you will place me under renewed obligations.

Cordially yours

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

Memorandum of an Interview with the Emperor at the Tuileries, Thursday, 18th June, 1863

On Wednesday I received from the Duke de Bassano, First Chamberlain, a note informing me that the Emperor would receive me at the

Tuileries on the following day at ten o'clock. The Emperor received me with great cordiality. He said that he had read the memorandum presented to him by the Count de Persigny (copy of which accompanied my despatch No. 37); that he was more fully convinced than ever of the propriety of the general recognition by European powers of the Confederate States, but that the commerce of France and the success of the Mexican expedition would be jeopardized by a rupture with the United States; that no other power than England possessed a sufficient Navy to give him efficient aid in a war on the ocean, an event which indeed could not be anticipated, if England would cooperate with him in recognition.

I replied that I was well satisfied that recognition by France and any other continental powers, or even by France alone, would not lead to a war with the United States, as they already found ample occupation for all their energies at home; that he could count on the coöperation of Spain, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Denmark. He remarked that none of those powers possessed a Navy of any consequence. I suggested that Spain had a very respectable Navy and was daily increasing it. I adverted to the instructions in your despatch No. 16, of the 9th May, and said that I was authorized to give the adhesion of my government to the tripartite treaty for the guarantee of Cuba to Spain; that I thought it was probable that such an adhesion might induce Spain, if assured in advance of the concurrence of France, to take the initiative of our recognition. Would the Emperor be willing to give such an assurance? He said that he would. I asked, will the Emperor authorize me to say so to the Spanish Ambassador, M. Isturitz, to whom I had already communicated the substance of my instructions. He replied that he was willing that I should do so. I then spoke to the Emperor of a letter from Mr. Roebuck, of which I asked his permission to read some extracts. He assented. I asked him if I might be permitted to deny on his authority the correctness of the rumor of which Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald had spoken to Mr. Roebuck. He said that I might give it an unqualified denial.

I then inquired if it would be agreeable to him to see Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay, and if I might so inform them. He said that he would be pleased to converse with them on the subject of Mr. Roebuck's motion, and that I might write to that effect. He, however, after a little reflection added: "I think that I can do something better: make a direct proposition to England for joint recognition. This will effectually prevent Lord Palmerston from misrepresenting my position and wishes on the American question." He said, "I shall bring the question before the Cabinet Meeting to-day, and if it should be decided not to make the proposition now, I will let you know in a day or two through M. Mocquard what to say to Mr. Roebuck."

I then said, "It may perhaps be an indiscretion to ask whether your

Majesty prefers to see the Whigs or Tories in power in England," and he said, "I rather prefer the Whigs." I remarked that Lord Malmesbury would under a conservative administration probably be the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and that I had always understood that intimate relations existed between the Emperor and him. He said, "That is true; personally we are excellent friends, but personal relations have very little influence in great affairs where party interests are involved." He playfully remarked, "The Tories are very good friends of mine when in a minority, but their tone changes very much when they get into power."

He then spoke of the different spirit in which the news of the fall of Puebla had been received North and South: that the Northern papers showed their disappointment and hostility, while Richmond had been illuminated on the occasion. This is reported by the newspapers. I, of course, did not express any doubt of the fact, although I considered it somewhat apocryphal. I said that there could be no doubt of the bitterness of the Northern people at the success of his arms in Mexico, while all our sympathies were with France, and urged the importance of securing the lasting gratitude and attachment of a people already so well disposed; that there could be no doubt that our Confederacy was to be the strongest power of the American Continent, and that our alliance was worth cultivating. He said that he was quite convinced of the fact and spoke with great admiration of the bravery of our troops, the skill of our generals and the devotion of our people. He expressed his great regret at the death of Stonewall Jackson, whom he considered as one of the most remarkable men of the age.

I expressed my thanks to him for his sanction of the contract made for the building of four ships of war at Bordeaux and Nantes. I then informed him that we were prepared to build several ironclad ships of war and that I only required his verbal assurance that they should be allowed to proceed to sea under the Confederate flag to enter into contracts for that purpose He said that we might build the ships, but it would be necessary that their destination should be concealed. I replied that the permission to build, equip and proceed to sea would be no violation of neutrality, and invoked the precedent of a ship built for the Chilian government under the circumstances mentioned in my despatch No. 32, of 20th April. The Emperor remarked that there was a distinction to be drawn between that case and what I desired to do. Chili was a government recognized by France.

. . . I give below copy of the letter of Mr. Roebuck. In reading it to the Emperor I omitted the portions underscored.

Copy of a Letter from J. A. Roebuck, M.P., to W. S. Lindsay, June 13, 1863

My dear Lindsay:

Seymour Fitzgerald said to me last night that it was rumored that the French Emperor at the present time thought it would be unwise to recognize the South and that Lord Palmerston on the 30th would say that England thought the time for recognition had not arrived; that France, he could state authoritatively, thought so too, and that therefore it was quite clear that any negotiations about the matter at the present time were utterly out of place and impossible. Now upon this an idea has come into my head, and I will explain it by a question. Could we, i.e., you and I, do any good by going to Paris and seeing the Emperor? *You know that I am no great admirer of that great personage, but still I am a politician—so is he, and politicians have no personal likes or dislikes that stand in the way of their political ends. I therefore would act as if I had no feelings either friendly or hostile to him—he would do the same as regards myself, and therefore I have no fear but that he would listen to all that I have to offer by way of suggestion and advice.* Whether he would take that advice is another thing. Still, he would listen, and good might come of our interview. Think over this proposition and give me your opinion. If we go, we ought to go at once. The 30th is not very far off, and we must soon decide whether the motion that stands in my name shall or shall not be brought on. The determination of the French Emperor will have an important bearing upon that question. I send this letter to Shepperton because I believe that on Sunday you will be there. If we determine to go to Paris, we ought to start on Monday morning.[1]

Yours very truly

PARIS, 18 June, 1863.

This conspiracy of Roebuck and Lindsay to seduce the Emperor to unite with their own Government in an effort to break up the Union of the United States of America lends

[1] The reader is reminded that this correspondence was not then known to me nor given to the public until 1888 in "France and the Confederate Navy" (Harper & Brothers).

peculiar interest to the following opinion which Thomas Carlyle expressed of him and which Carlyle's brother has recently given to the public:

> Met Radicals &c. at Mrs. Buller's a week ago. Roebuck Robespierre was there, an acrid, barren, sandy character, dissonant speaking dogmatist, trivial, with a singular exasperation; restlessness as of diseased vanity written over his face when you come near it. I do not think him equal to Robespierre.

W. S. THAYER TO BIGELOW

ALEXANDRIA, June 19, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

The Prince Napoleon and wife left Alexandria on the 16th inst., having voyaged by steamer up the Nile as far as Philæ, and visited the works on the canal in less than six weeks, besides receiving balls, etc., in Lower Egypt from the government and citizens here. Enclosed is an extract from my private journal describing the military review he assisted at. I have sent it *confidentially* to Seward. Don't let it fall into the hands of any journalist. . . .

The Prince reads books on our country, and, if I were in your place, I would send him your work, of which I spoke to him. He will remember, I think, my mention of it.

How dreadfully wearisome and discouraging are the news of our war just now! Our papers make such a fuss about indecisive engagements. Any evidence of concentrated and effective action on our part, however, would remove my disgust at once.

We are having a terrible murrain among Egyptian cattle, which threatens to kill them all, as it did in 1847. Horses and steam machinery are in great demand for irrigation and cultivation. It seems to me that an energetic and practical-minded capitalist like John Forbes (if he had time for such things) would make money out here just now in shipping the right sort of machinery from America here. This is a busi-

ness now monopolized by England, though I believe America could, in many things, undersell her. But we want a responsible man of large capital to begin.

The murrain kills the cattle in three hours after the attack, and the loss feared from this cause is estimated at $10,000,000. The large planters are importing irrigating machinery. . . .

Yours as ever

EXTRACT FROM PRIVATE JOURNAL OF W. S. THAYER

June 13. At 3½ P.M., agreeably to the Viceroy's invitation, the Consular Corps went (or rather three of them) by special train to Cairo. In five hours we (Dumreicher of Denmark and Schreiner of Austria and myself) arrived at Cassr Nil (a castle on the Nile), where, by order of the Viceroy, dinner and beds had been provided us. In the morning we had a long talk with Selim Bey, the French officer of his Highness who had charge of us.

Sunday, 14th. At five this morning we put on uniform, and our steamer followed the Viceroy's and Prince Napoleon's to Foura, where we found five other steamers brilliant with gay colors. We went on board the Prince's steamer, and were presented to him. He is a tall, stout man, the magnified image of his uncle "the little corporal." He wore a uniform—a coat of invisible green, white breeches, high top-boots with spurs. With me he spoke most of the time in English. In reply to my expression of the pleasure I had in meeting a prince so much esteemed in my country, he thanked me and said he had visited my country two years ago, and was greatly interested in it. It was the finest country in the world, and with such a future! He enjoyed the dinner at Boston, especially the speech of Mr. Everett and poem of Dr. Holmes. Mr. E. was a very distinguished statesman and a finished orator. He hoped our war would soon end. In France they were very little acquainted with the merits of our cause, though Laboulaye had written excellent articles in the journals on the subject, as well as others. In England, during the great exhibition of last year, he had been surprised at the misconceptions on the American question prevailing there. He had talked much with Mr. Bright, whom he knew very well, and he thought Mr. Bright had the best appreciation of the

subject, better, in fact, than Mr. Cobden. The Prince then talked with Mr. Schreiner about Prussia and Poland. He is a ready and affable talker, and gesticulates naturally and gracefully in conversation. We went next on shore (the east side of the Nile) and were taken in carriages across the sandy plains to a hill on which stood the beautiful tent of the Viceroy, who very civilly received us, giving us the usual pipes and coffee. Before us on the plain were drawn up 14,000 Egyptian troops, infantry, artillery and cavalry, who, on the arrival of the Prince, went through, for an hour or two, the manœuvres of review. Before the review, however, the Prince presented the Viceroy with the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor, making at the same time a few remarks in a low voice. To these the Viceroy replied and put on the broad red ribbon with the cross hanging on the left side. A similar but smaller decoration was also presented to Halim Pacha, the Viceroy's uncle, who was in the tent. After the review, the chief officers of the army were presented to the Prince, and were highly praised by him for the success of the review. We were next taken on board of one of the Viceroy's steamers which had been gorgeously fitted up for breakfast. The amount of gold and silver in the service was princely. About fifty guests were present, including the Viceroy's chief officers, the Prince's suite, and the Consul-General of France, Austria, United States, Denmark, and the Hanseatic towns. The Viceroy and the Prince sat opposite each other, separated only by the width of the table. The French Consul-General sat at the left of the Viceroy, and Halim Pacha at the right; the Austrian Consul-General at the right of the Prince, and I at the left. His conversation with me was chiefly about America. He thinks President Lincoln a sagacious, moderate man, and doubts if any man in his position could have done better than he. The two great men of the Government are Messrs. Seward and Chase, and he thinks that is also the opinion of the American people. "J'aime beaucoup Mr. Seward," said he. "Il est vraiment homme d'état capable et philosophe." Mr. Chase, whom he saw much, gave him a favorable impression for ability and comprehensive views. General McClellan he considered capable "quant à la guerre," but on talking with him he was surprised at his narrow political opinions and his inadequate appreciation of the slavery question. Burnside he knew better and liked much. The Prince had applied to Mr. Seward for leave to visit the rebels, and Mr. Seward saw no objection. He accordingly entered the rebel lines, but did not go as far as Richmond, nor see Davis. He saw, however, the Generals Lee, Beauregard, and "Stonewall" Jackson. As for B., he regards him as very pompous, a man of more show than performance. Lee is capable, but ambitious. But Jackson pleased him highly in some respects, as a brave, disinterested man. In fact, he was the only one of the rebel leaders who seemed to regret the Rebellion and to retain his patriotism in any

degree. Some of Jackson's remarks were, considering his position, decidedly patriotic. Something more was said by the Prince about the commerce of America with Egypt, of his visit to the West, and of the magnificent future he thinks in store for us. Considering that the dinner was not two hours long, I think the Prince gave me a fair share of his conversation. The French Consul-General tried, I thought, to introduce the debatable question of the Suez Canal, but the Prince confined himself to speaking, not of the political phase of the work, but of the different localities he had visited on the isthmus. He eulogized the American fancy drinks, mint juleps, sherry cobblers, etc., and spoke of the great cheapness of ice in America—how everybody there had it in abundance, apropos of a remark of the Viceroy that ice cost here, even that manufactured at Suez, two francs a cake (2½ lbs.). He spoke also of the hydraulic machinery used in the country, the rise and fall of the Nile, of his voyage up the river, where he had been as far as Philæ. He had touched, he said, the extremes of antiquity and of modern life—Egypt and America. It was curious that Egypt was the only land, he remarked, on which the three great conquerors, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon, had met in history. I remarked, apropos of this, on the historical character of the tableau presented us this morning as we stood in the tent looking at the review. Before us the Nile; on the opposite bank the palm grove covering the buried ruins at Memphis and the Serapeum with its rock-hewn tombs of the sacred bulls; and further beyond, the long line of pyramids, beginning with those of Gizeh and ending with those of Sakkarah, which were old in the time of Abraham; and in the far background the desert, the tawny and desolate barrier of the Libyan Hills. On our right were the Saracenic memorials of Cairo, the minarets and domes of mosques, the tombs of the caliphs and Mamelukes, and, towering over all, the imposing mosque of Mehemet Ali, which crowns the hill of the citadel. Most ancient of them all, behind at our left were the limestone quarries whence were cut those immense blocks of which were built the pyramids. Immediately before us were parading the well-disciplined and finely equipped Egyptian troops, one of the evidences of the continued vitality of Oriental civilization and government. Of course I did not say all this in so long-winded a fashion as above, or I might have put the listener asleep. I only mentioned briefly the ideas that recurred to me as I looked on the splendid show before us during the review.

A little before midday the dinner closed, and we were all very glad to go aboard our respective steamers and get rid of our heavy uniforms, for it was becoming excessively hot, the wind having fallen. Indeed, the dread of heat was the chief reason of the absence of several members of the Consular Corps. By and by the steamer of the Viceroy passed over on the way to Cairo. He had taken off all of his gilded

toggery and decorations, and was standing on deck clad in sack and pants of white linen, and comfortably puffing a cigar. Then followed the Prince's steamer. He, too, was on deck smoking and dressed *en négligé,* with a broad-rimmed Panama hat. On reaching Cairo we rested awhile in the palace of Cassr Nil, and at 3½ P.M. entered the special train engaged for the Prince and the Princess, which took us in four hours to Alexandria—a distance of 130 miles. I must say the doings of the last twenty-eight hours had sufficiently tired me, and, in spite of my enjoyment, I was glad they were over. One or two other remarks of the Prince occur to me which show his interest in our country. He expressed himself pleased with an article in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* commenting favorably on his speech in the Senate of France about Poland. He said he knew well Senators Wilson and Sumner and Governor Andrews of Massachusetts, and asked whether the latter had been reëlected. New York, he understood, had changed its administration, though still maintaining its purpose to support the war for the Union.

EDWARD DE LEON TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 19th June, 1863.

Sir:

The mutual endearments which have passed between the Lincoln and Russian despotisms have greatly edified and surprised the European world and have embarrassed not a little the democratic friends of "the Model Republic," who are rabid partisans of Poland. To cover their chagrin they have revived the old cry of slavery, the real "bête noir" of the French imagination.

In England too the same clap-trap has been revived, and to counteract it, I have caused to be republished and widely circulated the pamphlet which you will receive with this despatch, "Visits to Southern Plantations by a Northern Man"—republishing a French version also in a very widely circulated paper. To affect the public sentiment of England, free use has been made of the utterances of Northern opponents of the Lincoln Administration, such as the Woods of New York and Mr. Read of Philadelphia. I have caused to be republished, with an introduction written by myself, the very outspoken sentiments of the latter gentleman to the Northern Democracy, and its circulation has done much good. A copy of this also is sent you. Almost incredible as it may appear, the Slavery Question is more of a stumbling-block to our recognition in France than in England, for it is really and

truly a matter of sentiment with the French people, who ever have been more swayed by such consideration than their cooler and more calculating neighbors on the other side of the channel.

From the hour of my arrival here until to-day the same thing has been repeated over and over again by persons connected with the Government and enjoying the confidence of the Emperor, "France cannot take the lead in acknowledging the Southern Confederacy without some promise for prospective emancipation." The same statement was made by one of our warmest friends in the French Ministry, and one nearest the Emperor—Count de Persigny, but three days ago—and M. de Lesseps says the same. It is vain to tell them how utterly impracticable such a proposition must be and that the Southern People never would consent to purchase recognition at the price of such a concession of wrong-doing—as it would imply; the answer is always the same: "Well, then, the feeling of our people compels us to make the condition."

Against a rooted prejudice and a preconceived opinion like this, reason and argument are powerless, and the concessions demanded would deprive the gift of all value if accorded, besides humiliating us to the level desired by our enemies. Therefore it is that, despairing of removing by diplomatic efforts the calculating selfishness of England and the sentimental repugnance of France, I have counseled, and now reiterate the suggestion, *the entire suppression of the attempt made through accredited Commissioners in Europe for recognition, waiving the question of the heavy expenditure thereby incurred, and placing the matter on the footing of self-respect and true policy.* I may add also that in the opinion of influential and sagacious French statesmen such a step would produce a most favorable impression on the public sentiment here, which responds to such appeals.

Very respectfully

Though he might have felt differently had he been one of the commissioners, yet, after reading this suggestion of De Leon for mitigating the diplomatic representation of the Confederacy in Europe, it is not surprising that a pretext for relieving its author from his costly duty was soon found. He was regarded by Slidell from the first rather as a spy upon him than as an auxiliary, and that they would not get on harmoniously together needed no prophet to foresee. Besides, De Leon's curiosity got the better of his judgment, and

he fell into the habit of opening Slidell's dispatches, a practice eminently fitted to strain the relations between these "high concocting powers." In less than six months after De Leon's suggestion reached Richmond his head was in the basket.

WEED TO BIGELOW

New York, June 27, 1863.

My dear Friend:

Were it possible for me to be even hopeful, I should write you often. As it is, I keep delaying month after month, anxiously waiting to find my apprehensions unfounded. And nothing comes to relieve my anxiety. We are on the way, as we have so long been, to destruction.

How often I wish that I could *talk* with you, for *then* we could not fail to see alike.

Take a single instance of the folly of the administration. We have lost over 30,000 troops by expiration of term of service. When the army was authorized the government was urged to recruit it *for the war.* Every man would have readily enlisted for the war, all *believing* that it would not last two years. But the suggestion—the entreaty, was disregarded; and now we cannot get the army replenished.

Even the colored men now come reluctantly forward (good soldiers they are), though at the beginning they would have come with a rush.

Our immense navy, with a basswood head[1] (out of the Mississippi), is useless. A line of steamers from Nassau to Charleston has only lost *thirteen* out of 140 trips.

Everything is conducted in a slipshod way. Our generals are either worthless or worse, with few exceptions.

Louisiana wants to return to the Union, having, as her planters say, been fraudulently and violently taken out by

[1] And yet it was in the department of this "basswood head" of Secretary Welles that the greatest number of important victories were achieved, the fewest checks sustained, and no serious disasters recorded during the war.

A.D. 1797 Thurlow Weed A.D. 1882

Slidell, Benjamin, etc. But an application to the President to order an election (by his military Governor) has been declined, Sumner, Chandler, Chase, etc., saying she can only come back as a territory.

I received the *Saturday Review,* and wrote an article for the *Times,* quoting the first and last paragraphs of the London notice. But it did not, for some unexplained reason, appear. Raymond went away to Chicago just after I sent it. I cannot find another copy of the *Review* or I would make another article. The *Review* was fair.

There was great stupidity in arresting Vallandigham and in suppressing the *Chicago Times.* But I do not believe we are to suffer the disgrace and mortification of seeing that traitor Governor of Ohio.

Pennsylvania is showing that she *ought* to be invaded. We are sending as many troops for her defense as she raises for herself.

Ever Yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Washington, June 30, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

Your note of the 12th has just been received. The design it indicates is indeed so bold a one that I can't fully credit it. Certainly it is not understood by any of the Europeans here. I think, however, that I discern the existence of general apprehensions of some unascertained purpose in the quarter where the movement which you describe is being made. Pray keep me advised.

Faithfully yours

The note of the 12th referred to by Mr. Seward mentions an extraordinary activity in the navy-yards of France and

a gathering of troops at Châlons. When that letter was written I suspected that the military demonstrations referred to concerned Germany more than any other people. From the following private letter written on the same day as mine, by M. Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the French Ambassador in London, it appears that the demonstrations were a response to depressing news from the imperial expedition to Mexico. He says:

My dispatch translates but very feebly the painful impression given by the news that Sir Charles Wyke[1] had been treating with the Government of Juarez and had returned to Mexico from the moment he learned we wished to go further than England, and we had to witness her stopping *en route*, leaving us to pursue alone, at our own risk and peril, a policy which she judged bad or venturesome. What we did not expect was a right-about-face so complete.

In reality, Sir Charles Wyke passes from one camp into the other and lends his moral support to our adversary. His retreat, had it even the character of an abandonment, was conceivable; his presence in Mexico, however, is an act of opposition to us, and all the world will give it this mischievous interpretation. The Emperor said to me, with an air of sadness: "Is this the recompense which my conduct in the *Trent* affair merited?" Lord Russell certainly can have no illusion about the value of the guaranties which the Government of Juarez offers him. What interest contrary to ours has England in Mexico? What sympathies can she have for men who rule there at present and of whom she has had as much to complain as we? Is there not still the question of America, more grave for her than for ourselves, and which it is not well to prelude by such an early disagreement? If M. Wyke has forgotten all this, I hope that Lord Russell will remember it and so arrange that no local incident putting his agent in conflict with our dignity or simply our military necessities shall trouble the general harmony of the relations of the two cabinets, which I am constantly laboring to maintain and fortify.

You know better than any one else how to speak to *our old friend Lord John*, and I am certain you will not spare him *la mercuriale* which he deserves.[2]

[1] Sir Charles Wyke was England's Minister in Mexico, who took the responsibility of retiring with Spain from their partnership with France when it became apparent that the Emperor had ends in view in going to Mexico not contemplated by his copartners. More of this later.

[2] "Le Secret de l'Empereur: Correspondance Confidentielle et Inédite échangée entre M. Thouvenel, le Duc du Gramont, et le Général Comte de Flahault, 1860–1863" (Paris, 1889), Vol. II, p. 318.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

PARIS, July 3, 1863.

Dear Mr. Seward:

After the receipt of your two letters of the 6th and 15th ultimo of course I cannot press my resignation. While you think I can be more useful here than any other available person, I have no right to expect you to relieve me. If I persist in differing with you in regard to the fact of my superior usefulness it is not because we reason differently on the same premises, but because I think I have reasons for desiring to be relieved which you are not fully acquainted with. They are such, however, as I am not willing to commit to writing, and therefore should trust for Providence in its good time to give me an opportunity of explaining to you; meantime resting, as I suppose I must, under your suspicion of seeking more my own comfort than to serve my country.

I sent you the other day a copy of the *Opinion Nationale* containing an article which may induce you to change your views of my superior fitness for this position, as it will go a long way to convict me of disobedience to a circular of the State Department scarcely a year old. In my justification, however, I beg to say that there has been such a constant disposition to hold you responsible for the government in Europe and to lay every misfortune resulting from the war at your door that I thought it might be well to have a word or two said calculated to explain your position in America.

I am happy to be able to inform you that M. E. Reclus, the gentleman who reviewed Humphreys' report on the Mississippi for the Geographical Society and the writer of a clever article on the Blacks recently in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* has been invited to take charge of that part of the *Annuaire des Deux-Mondes* which relates to affairs in the United States. This is a sort of French Annual Register published by the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* has been in existence some twelve years and is a valuable historic authority. In view of the future when the events of this rebellion and those who took part in and against it come to be judged, I deem it a matter of congratulation that such an important record or voucher as

this *Annuaire* is to be made up by so competent a man and so enlightened and thorough-going a friend of our cause as M. Reclus. He has asked me to assist him in procuring the requisite information, and I have promised him every aid in my power, relying upon the coöperation of the government at home to a reasonable extent. If you take the same view that I take of this subject, you will perhaps think it worth while to send me for his use:

1st. A complete set of your diplomatic correspondence (which, by the way, I hope some day to get him to review in the *Deux-Mondes*). 2nd. A set of the Presidential and accompanying documents for 1861 and 1862. Please send two sets of the latter when printed, if not yet printed, as I have not yet received a copy. 3rd. Appleton's Cyclopædia for the years 1861 and 1862, 2 vols.

There is reason to believe that the movement of Lee on the Rappahannock and Roebuck in the House of Commons were made in concert. There is danger of attaching, not too much perhaps, but an erroneous importance to the part the Emperor has had in the latter demonstration. No doubt the Emperor encourages Roebuck and Lindsay to come to him to receive some sort of suggestions, but in last analysis I think you will conclude, as I have done, that his communications were designed to have more influence upon European than upon American politics. He wants Lord Palmerston to call off his dogs from the Suez Canal, which has been the burden of a very sharp correspondence, ever since the appearance of the Sultan's letter, between the French and English courts. The reply which he made about the dispatch which Earl Russell sent to you evinced a disposition to punish the head of the government for something, and the selection of Roebuck and Lindsay as his agents put a double edge upon his weapon. That he has taken this mode of frightening Lord Palmerston to terms is partially confirmed by the tone of *La France* last evening, in which occur three several allusions to a ministerial crisis in England and even Lord Clarendon is named as Lord Russell's probable successor.

This paper is directed by La Guéronnière, who is particularly well informed about foreign politics and who has for some years held the pen for the Emperor on critical international questions.

We try to wait in confidence for better news from America, but it requires a good deal of effort while Washington, according to all the telegraphic news, seems to be in more danger than Richmond. The President's letter to Corning and others has produced an excellent effect here and is universally pronounced by those who have read it a very statesmanlike and conclusive paper.

Yours very truly

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, July 6, 1863.

Sir:

. . . You will have seen through the newspapers the debates in the House of Commons on Mr. Roebuck's motion; the declaration of Earl Russell in the House of Peers on the same evening, and the statement made by Mr. Layard two days after. They present grave issues of veracity which are not yet solved. One thing, however, is certain. Mr. Roebuck did not mistake his conversation with the Emperor; he and Mr. Lindsay came to see me immediately on their return from Fontainebleau and related their interview exactly as Mr. Roebuck gave it in the House of Commons. You will find, too, that his statement tallies almost exactly with my memorandum of what the Emperor said to me at the Tuileries on the 18th June. . . . I give you herewith copy (marked A) of a letter which Mr. Roebuck addressed to me on the day after making his speech, with a request that I should bring it before the Emperor. This I did through M. Mocquard. I also sent a copy of it to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. . . .

While writing I received a communication from M. Mocquard, of which I give you a copy and annexed translation marked B.

. . . . . .

We have now positive proof that the Emperor did direct that his Ambassador should inform the British Government that he was ready to acknowledge the Confederate States. Either, then, the Minister of Foreign Affairs failed to obey the Emperor's instructions, or Baron Gros did not obey the instructions of his chief, or Earl Russell and Mr. Layard have deliberately stated what was false in spirit if not in letter. You will naturally desire to know what is my opinion on the subject. I give it, although with some hesitation.

I suppose that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has not carried out in good faith the wishes of his sovereign. He is a man of timid temperament, fond of

little diplomatic business, and is very far from being as decided as the Emperor in his views of the policy to be pursued in our affairs; he is, moreover, very susceptible and jealous of any interference with his peculiar functions, and he may have been dissatisfied that the Emperor should have conversed with me and others on a diplomatic question.

There is still another hypothesis which would relieve Messrs. Russell and Layard from the charge of a deliberate falsehood. My friend at the Foreign Office says that Baron Gros was directed to approach Lord Palmerston on the subject of recognition; it is barely possible, although extremely improbable, that he may have done so and that the Premier, either designedly or from neglect, may have failed to inform his colleagues of the fact.

My friend also informs me that the Minister read to him part of a letter from the Emperor which related to our affairs. After instructing him to direct Baron Gros to sound Lord Palmerston on the subject of recognition, he added, "Je me demande si je ne devrais pas faire dire officiellement à Lord Palmerston que je suis décidé à reconnaître les états confédérés."

This is going much further than anything he has ever said to me. I do not know whether you will read it as I do. I think that his doubt is not as to whether he should recognize us, but whether he should inform Lord Palmerston that he had made up his opinion to do so.

. . . . . .

Mr. Charles Lafitte has now made a direct proposition for a loan. He says that he has secured the coöperation of strong Dutch capitalists. His proposition, however, is not as favorable as that of another combination of bankers who have called upon me. On my stating this to him he said he would modify it in such a way as he thought would be satisfactory. Erlanger & Co. also intend to send agents to Richmond to negotiate another loan. McRae is now absent, but will return in a few days, when I will confer with him fully and put him in communication with the parties who have approached me on this subject. At all events, it is a favorable symptom of the state of public opinion in Europe that offers of money should come from several different quarters. I doubt if any similar applications have been made to Mr. Dayton or to Mr. Adams.

I observe by Southern journals that oil bears a very high price in the Confederacy. I do not know that the attention of our farmers has been turned towards the use of the ground [nut] or peanut, known in Louisiana as the Pistache, for the manufacturing of oil. Large cargoes are imported here from Africa for that purpose, and the oil extracted from it, called here "Huile d'Arachides," is used as a substitute for olive oil, is by many esteemed as good and brings nearly as high a price. It might be well to make this fact generally known.

. . . . . .

M. Isturitz informs me that he has only received from Madrid a simple acknowledgment of the arrival of his despatch communicating what I had said to him respecting Cuba. He expects by his next courier to receive the views of his government on the subject and promises to inform me of their purport.[1]

With great respect, etc.

J. A. ROEBUCK TO SLIDELL

A

London, 1 July, 1863.

My dear Sir:

An incident of last night induces me to trouble you to-day. In my speech, in order to show that my proposal to ask the Queen to enter into negotiations with foreign powers was a wise proposal, I stated that his Majesty the Emperor had given me permission to state in the House of Commons what had passed between us. I stated that his Majesty had told me that he, on hearing that a rumor was prevalent in London that he had changed his mind on the subject of recognition, had sent instructions to Baron Gros to deny the truth of that rumor, and, further, that he had instructed his Ambassador to inquire of the English Government whether they were prepared now to entertain the question of recognition, and to state that if they were so, he, the Emperor, was ready to act with them and would be glad of their resolution. I then went on to say that I had suggested to his Majesty that he through his Ambassador should make a formal proposal to that effect to the English Government; that his Majesty had thereupon said to me that he could not do so, and that he would tell me the reason why; that some time last year he had made such a formal proposition to England; that his despatch had been sent to Lord Lyons, by whom it had been shown to Mr. Seward, who had complained to the French Minister at Washington of these his Majesty's proceedings. "Now," said the Emperor, "I deemed myself ill-treated in this matter, and I cannot subject myself again to be so dealt with."

During the debate, in order to destroy or diminish the effect of this history, Sir George Grey said that it had been stated in the House of Lords by Lord Russell that Baron Gros had been to him that afternoon, saying that he had read the *Times* of that day and that he was come to say to him, Lord Russell, that he, Baron Gros, had received no such

[1] Isturitz was Ambassador of Spain at the court of France.

instructions. Sir George Grey further said that nothing of the sort I described had occurred with reference to the Emperor's despatch; that he did not in the least doubt my veracity, thereby plainly insinuating that the want of truth was on the other side of the water.

Now I am anxious that his Majesty should know on my authority that such things were said last night. His Majesty will know full well that I told simply what he said to me, and he will be able to ascertain where the error lies. I cannot presume to write myself to his Majesty, but it has suggested itself to me that you by some means can have this letter laid before his Majesty. The debate will be resumed in a week; I have the right of reply and should be greatly delighted if his Majesty would kindly give me the means of making the requisite explanations.

I am told that Disraeli in the adjourned debate will come out on our side.

Yours very truly

MOCQUARD TO SLIDELL

B

FONTAINEBLEAU, July 6, 1863.

My dear Mr. Slidell:

You will find enclosed a note I am requested to send you in reply to the letter of which you desired me to make the communication.

Please to receive, my dear Mr. Slidell, the renewed assurance of my best and affectionate feelings.

NOTE

The Emperor having been informed fifteen days ago that the report had been spread to London of H. M. having changed his opinion as regards the recognition of the South, M. Drouyn de Lhuys wrote to Baron Gros that he should refute the said report.

Meantime Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay came over and paid a visit to the Emperor, whom they invited to make an official application to the British Cabinet towards the recognition of the South. H. M. replied that such a step was not practicable before knowing whether it would be agreed to; since the first proposal of mediation had met with a denial, and H. M. had been told (a thing of which he had, in truth, no proof) that the cabinet of London boasted at Washington of declining such of the Emperor's proposals as were in favor of the South. Now H. M. has neither cause nor feeling of animosity toward the United

States, and it is but with the hope of seeing an end to be put to a war already too long that he considered the recognition of the South as a speedier means to bring about peace. The Emperor could not have spoken to Mr. Roebuck of any dispatch or dispatches exhibited by Lord Lyons to Mr. Seward, because there was none but those which have been published. However, his Majesty regrets Mr. Roebuck's making public an entirely confidential explanation.

We must add: On the next day after the interview of Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay with the Emperor, the Minister of Foreign Affairs wrote by telegraph to Baron Gros to "officiously" inform Lord Palmerston that should Great Britain be willing to recognize the South the Emperor would be ready to follow her in that way.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, July 21, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

I have just received your letter of the 3d inst., and I am glad that you remain in the Consulate. I suppose that I can imagine the reason why you desired to resign, and if I do I am the more convinced that you ought to stay at your post.

I shall certainly report your violation of your instructions, by your article in the *Opinion Nationale,* to the President, though I will mercifully withhold the deserved punishment. Some good but impatient friends, as you see, are bringing his name forward for reëlection. It will show you how just and generous he is that he is able to overlook your crime of putting me in his way, and I think that he will only be the more decided in his convictions that you must stay where you are. As for me, I am bent upon leading the way for whosoever may follow in restoring peace and union to our unhappy country by withdrawing all the provocatives to anger that are associated with my name.

I will see that the book you want for M. Reclus is sent by

the next steamer, and I rejoice in the gain of such a man in such a place.

We have had a revel of victories, which I think will relieve our position abroad. But it was speedily followed by a new trouble, the New York riot. I feel now to-day (for the first) that this new and strange complication will be gotten over safely. But will that be the last one? Heaven knows. When a ship is driven upon a lee shore, who can predict the number and form of the perils she must encounter before she can ride free again upon the calm, broad sea?

Faith and patience are our duty. I do marvel and I can't help marveling that France does not see how wise it would be to give us her sympathy instead of her despair. But who is wise enough to make friends out of the unlucky who seem to need rather than be able to give aid?

Faithfully yours

In the winter of 1861–62 it had been necessary for the Governor of New York to call into the public service not only volunteers, but also portions of the State militia by draft, for suppression of the insurrection in the South. It was also discovered that disloyal persons were not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law from interfering with the draft and from giving aid and support to the insurrection. In consequence of this state of things President Lincoln found it necessary, in September, 1862, to issue a proclamation "that all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting military drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice affording any aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law," and also that the writ of habeas corpus be suspended in respect to all persons arrested and confined for such practices.

The riots referred to in the foregoing letter of Mr. Seward commenced in the city of New York on the first day of the draft, July 13, 1863, ostensibly in opposition to it, but early took the character of an outbreak for the purposes of pillage and of outrage upon the colored population.

For the first three days business was almost entirely suspended. Railroads and omnibuses ceased running. Stores on

Broadway and throughout the greater portion of the city were closed, and prowling gangs of ruffians rendered it unsafe to walk the streets. Not till Tuesday afternoon were the police strengthened by the militia, when exemplary work with the rioters commenced. The number killed in the different conflicts has never been ascertained, but is estimated, by those who witnessed the terrible scenes and had the best opportunity of judging, to have amounted to from four hundred to five hundred. The bodies of the killed were hurriedly taken off, in many cases conveyed out of the city or secreted and privately buried. Cases of subsequent deaths from wounds, it is known, were attributed to other causes. Eighteen persons are known to have been killed by the rioters, eleven of whom were colored. The number of buildings burned by the mob from Monday morning until Wednesday morning was over fifty, among them the Colored Orphan Asylum, two police stations, three provost marshals' offices; and an entire block of dwellings was sacked, though not burned, and their contents were destroyed or carried away. The aggregate amount of property destroyed and stolen amounted to upward of $1,200,000.

L. Q. C. Lamar, the writer of the following letter, was a Mississippi lawyer who was selected by the President of the Confederacy to visit St. Petersburg and assure the Russian Czar of the desire of the Confederates for friendly and commercial intercourse.

He ascertained in Europe, without going so far as St. Petersburg, that he would not be received by the Czar, and shortly after, as will appear by the letter, that his appointment as Minister had not been confirmed by the Confederate Senate.

He was subsequently selected by President Cleveland for a seat in his Cabinet as Minister of the Interior and later for an associate justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States.

On Lamar's return from his fruitless mission to Russia in 1864 he made a speech at Macon, Georgia, where he is reported by the *Lynchburg Weekly Register* of April 23 to have said that England was almost unanimously Southern in its sympathies; that the majority in Parliament were in the same condition, but that the Cobden and Bright element held the

balance of power; that Napoleon was friendly to the Confederates, but was opposed by the deputies and could do nothing; that the Confederacy was favored by Austria and Spain and by Italy through the Pope, and might be able to secure Mexico as an ally, through Maximilian.

L. Q. C. LAMAR TO BENJAMIN

LONDON, 22 July, 1863.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 2 advising me that, the Senate having failed to ratify my nomination as Commissioner to Russia, the President desires that I consider the official information of the fact as terminating my mission.

I have to thank you for the regret you express, on the part of the President and yourself, at this decision of the Senate, but while I cannot free myself altogether from a feeling of disappointment in the expectation of finding a career of usefulness, it is my duty to state that the reasons which you inform me actuated the Senate are fully confirmed by my own observations of the condition of European politics. Shortly after my arrival here I became convinced that the state of things supposed to promise useful results from diplomatic representation at the Court of St. Petersburg had been essentially altered. Not only did there appear no evidence that the influence of France was in the ascendant in the councils of Russia, but it was very apparent that a growing coldness existed between the two governments, caused by the attitude which the French Government had assumed in relation to Poland. The progress of the insurrection and the increasing manifestation of French sympathy with its success have still further widened the breach, until, at present, all Europe is greatly alarmed at the imminent risk of a hostile collision of the two Empires.

These considerations induced me, after frequent consultation with Messrs. Mason and Slidell, to delay my departure for my post, and as latterly the prospect of restoration of cordial relations became more remote, I had almost reached the determination of recommending to you that I should be released from my duties, or, at least, that they should be directed to another field. Although it could not be expected that the Government of Austria or Prussia would be prepared to take the initiative in recognition, there was yet good reason to believe that either or both these powers could be so far influenced as to lend their moral weight to the efforts which are made in England and France. I

cannot say that the grounds for this belief were sufficiently specific to be urged successfully against the decision of the Senate, and I acquiesce in it the more readily since, in one respect at least, it anticipates by a few days the conclusion I was about to communicate to you. I trust, however, you will not consider me as going out of my way when I urge that the principle which has governed this decision will not be extended to the withdrawal of diplomatic representatives at London and Paris, as the proceedings in the House of Representatives and the tone of the press lead me to apprehend. The presence of these gentlemen at their respective posts is imperiously demanded by exigencies of the public service, even though the main object of their mission may not, for some time to come, be carried out against the prejudiced obstinacy of the English foreign office or the languor which has recently characterized the Imperial policy on American affairs.

In terminating my official relations with your Department permit me to express the hope that my brief residence in Europe has not been wholly fruitless. In the endeavor to secure for my mission a favorable reception at St. Petersburg, I have necessarily made the acquaintance of many persons in high official and social position as well in England as in France. Opportunities for putting to work influences in our favor have not been wanting, and I have not knowingly neglected any that presented themselves.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, July 23, 1863.

My dear Governor:

Your friend Richard Lathers, who leaves for London this evening, will give to the Dispatch Agent at London a volume for you about the Hôtel des Invalides. It will be of little use to you, but as it is the most recent publication on the subject I thought you might as well have it at once. Since your letter reached me I observed in the *Moniteur*[1] a report from the Minister of War upon the deliberations of a Committee appointed some time since to digest the laws and modify the abuses and shortcomings of this hospital so as to accommodate it more completely to existing exigencies. I have applied for a copy and had expected one in time for this mail, but the

[1] A copy goes out by this mail.

under-secretary of the hospital bureau tells me that it is not yet printed, nor will be for a couple of weeks, but that I shall have a copy the moment it is ready. I had collected considerable information for you, which, however, I shall defer sending because I am persuaded that the modifications which are to be introduced in January next are of special importance and ought to be incorporated into any statement that I send to you.

I would advise you to determine upon no plan till you hear from me, at least none based upon this model, which is not adapted, in many important particulars, to our military invalids.

I am much obliged to you for the maps. They were just what I wanted and will serve me a good turn here.

II

THE CONFEDERACY ON THE DEFENSIVE

BENJAMIN TO DE LEON

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
RICHMOND, August 17, 1863.

Sir:

. . . In relation to your remarks about the withdrawal of our Commissioners from Europe, it is only necessary to say that there were other than Diplomatic interests entrusted to them, which could be known only to the Government and which rendered their presence abroad necessary to the public interests. There was also another object which has been happily accomplished, and this was to ascertain clearly where our difficulties lay and to unmask duplicity wherever it might exist. Recent developments have evinced beyond the possibility of mistake that France is ready and desirous of recognizing us and that Great Britain remains the sole obstacle in the face of the world to the restoration of peace on this continent, for none can be blind to the futility of the pretext that recognition would exasperate the North. The Cabinet of St. James cannot be ignorant of what is patent to mankind at large, that our simple recognition by the European powers would put an end to the war, and cannot therefore escape from the legitimate deduction that they desire the continuance of hostilities in the interests of Great Britain. Long ere this reaches you, however, it is probable that Mr. Mason will have withdrawn from London, and a marked distinction will thus have been established between our relations with Great Britain and those with France. What the effect will be cannot be foretold, but the self-respect of this government required the step, whatever be its consequences. Your communications are being read with great interest both by the President and myself. I must request that you send at least one letter per month containing your views of the state of affairs in Europe bearing on our interest.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant

While Mr. Benjamin and President Davis were chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancies suggested to their English commissioner by his Tory friends as well as by their own agent, a gentleman from Florida had proposed to Mr. Benjamin that the slaves should be drafted into the army and compelled to fight for the deliverance of their masters from the chains of the old Federal Constitution. To this proposition Mr. Benjamin wrote a reply which for its length is certainly one of the most important contributions ever made to the literature of slavery.

Among those who have never enjoyed the advantage of studying the "peculiar institution" *in situ,* this letter is likely to beget a suspicion that the affection of slaves for their masters, and for the relation in which they stood the one to the other, has been somewhat exaggerated by the slaveholding apostolate.

The extent to which the conversion of a man into a slave reduced his value as a national asset in the time of war or civil disorder—was it ever better stated or more effectively illustrated?

BENJAMIN TO B. H. MICON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, RICHMOND,
August 18, 1863.

BENJAMIN H. MICON, ESQ.,
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Sir:

I have received and carefully read your letter of 10th instant. It is a subject which has awakened attention in several quarters lately and which is of an importance too great to admit of its proper treatment within the limits of a letter, nor have I at this moment the time necessary for discussing it at length. With many and obvious advantages, such as you suggest in your letter, there are very grave practical difficulties in the execution of any general scheme of employing negro slaves in the army.

You know, of course, in the first place that the President has no authority to initiate such a scheme; that it must be devised and matured by Congress. Whether Congress would advise it, I know not, but let me suggest hastily a few of the difficulties.

1st. Slaves are property; if taken for public service, they must be paid for. At present rates each regiment of 1,000 slaves would cost $2,000,000 at the very least, besides their outfit, and the Government would become a vast slaveholder, and must either sell the slaves after the war, which would be a most odious proceeding after they had aided us in gaining our liberties, or must free them, to the great detriment of the country.

2d. If, instead of buying, the Government hire them, it would stand as insurer for their return to their owners; it would be forced to pay hire for them besides their outfit and rations; and it would have to pay hire according to the value of their services on a fair estimate. Now negro men command readily $30.00 a month all through Virginia. How could we possibly afford such a price, and what would be the effect on the poorer classes of whites in the army, if informed that negroes were paid $30.00 a month, while the white man received only $11.00?

3d. The collection and banding together of negro men in bodies, in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy's forces, is an experiment of which the results are far from certain. The facility which would thus be afforded for their desertion in mass might prove too severe a test for their fidelity when exposed to the arts of designing emissaries of the enemy who would be sure to find means of communicating with them.

4th. It is far from certain that the male slave population is not doing just as valuable and important service now as they could do in the army. A nation cannot exist without labor in the field, in the workshop, on the railroad, the canal, the highway and the manufactory. In coal and iron mines, in foundries and on fortifications we could employ the total male slave population that could possibly be spared from the production of supplies for subsistence. This is the appropriate field for negro labor, to which they are habituated, and which appears at first sight to be altogether less liable to objection than to imitate our enemies by using them in military organizations.

I have not thoroughly studied the subject, but throw out these suggestions as food for thought, although they have probably been considered by you already. On one point, however, I think all must agree, and that is *the absolute necessity of withdrawing all male slaves from any district of country exposed to the approach of an enemy.* This is a military precaution which commanders in the field may lawfully take, and to which I shall invoke the attention of the proper Department.

Far from deeming your letter intrusive or improper, I see in it nothing but an evidence of patriotism and desire to serve your country, but of course I required no proof that you could entertain any other sentiments.

Very truly and respectfully, etc.

The sophistry of Benjamin's *non possumus* argument against binding the Confederate States by a treaty against slavery leaps to the eyes. What else could he say? He and Davis and the revolutionary party they represented had no more clearly defined purpose in withdrawing from the Union than the reopening of the African slave-trade; and the obstacles to such a step assigned, flimsy as they are, were erroneously supposed to be strong enough to impose upon foreign nations, to whose people, for the most part, the architecture of our political institutions was unintelligible.

It is due to history to cite here two letters neither of which, I believe, has been published in any of the free States: the first signed W. C. Preston, one of the most distinguished citizens of the State of South Carolina, written in the winter of 1859 and addressed to Messrs. Gales and Seton, the venerable editors of the *National Intelligencer;* the other from the Hon. S. W. Spratt, also a prominent citizen of South Carolina, written in February, 1861, assigning his objection to the provision against the slave-trade in the Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederacy.

HON. WILLIAM C. PRESTON TO GALES AND SETON

COLUMBIA, December 18, 1859.

My dear old Friends:

The immediate object of this note is to suggest to you (not to solicit) the publication in the *Intelligencer* of the latter part of my friend Colonel Hampton's speech (which I enclose) on the slave-trade. The nefarious project of opening it has been started here in that prurient temper of the times which manifests itself in disunion schemes, in vigilant associations, in filibustering expeditions, and all the spawn of a morbid moral and political condition. My State is strangely and terribly affected with all this sort of thing, superinduced, doubtless, by the fearful ascendency of Abolitionism in the North, which subjects us to those panics subject to a slaveholding community—panics at once reckless and ferocious. One feeling that gives a countenance to the opening of the slave-trade is that it will be a sort of spite to the North and defiance of their opinion. Hampton and his family, as you know, are thorough Southerners and as large slaveholders as anybody.

His position, therefore, is very authoritative, and the speech, I think, will extinguish the folly in our State. Besides, I think him very clever, and know him to be full of spirit—a quality of which our public men are sadly lacking at this juncture—the spirit, I mean, to do the right and to speak the truth. The public feeling of my State is, indeed, terrible—lawless, violent, and fatally bent on mischief. The public bodies are scarcely capable of sane or sober counsels. There are few voices to endeavor to quell the storm. My own is quenched by infirmities, or it should be tried.

I am, gentlemen, your old friend

S. W. SPRATT TO THE *CHARLESTON MERCURY*

February 19, 1861.

From the abstract of the Constitution for the Provisional Government, it appears that the slave-trade, except with the Slave States of North America shall be prohibited.

. . . The prohibition, therefore, will no longer be a question of policy, but will be a cardinal principle of the Southern Confederacy. It will not be a question for the several Slave States in view of any peculiarity in their circumstances and condition, but will be fixed by a paramount power, *which nothing but another revolution can overturn.* . . .

It thus appears that the contest is not ended with a dissolution of the Union, and that the agents of that contest still exist within the limits of the Southern States. The causes that have contributed to the defeat of slavery still occur; our slaves are still drawn off by higher prices to the West. There is still foreign pauper labor ready to supply their place. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, possibly Tennessee and North Carolina, may lose their slaves, as New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have done. In that condition they must recommence the contest. There is no avoiding that necessity. The systems cannot mix; and thus it is that slavery, like the Thracian horse returning from the field of victory, still bears a master on his back; and, *having achieved our revolution to escape democracy at the North, it must still achieve another, to escape it at the South. That it will ultimately triumph none can doubt.* . . .

If you shall commence by ignoring slavery, or shall be content to edge it on by indirection; if you shall exhibit care but for a Republic,

respect but for a democracy; if you shall stipulate for the toleration of slavery as an existing evil by admitting assumptions to its prejudice and restrictions to its power and progress, you reinaugurate the blunder of 1789; you will combine States, whether true or not to slavery; you will have no tests of faith; some will find it to their interests to abandon it; slave labor will be fettered; hireling labor will be free; *your Confederacy is again divided into antagonistic societies; the irrepressible conflict is again commenced;* and as slavery can sustain the structure of a stable government, and will sustain such structure, *and as it will sustain no structure but its own, another revolution comes—but whether in the order and propriety of this, is gravely to be doubted.* . . .

Then why adopt this measure? Is it that Virginia and the other border States require it? They may require it now, *but is it certain they will continue to require it?*

Virginia and the rest have never yet regarded slavery as a normal institution of society. They have regarded the slave as property, but not slavery as a relation. They have treated it as a *prostitution,* but have never yet *espoused* it. Their men of intellect have exhibited enlightened views upon this subject, but their politicians who have held the public ear have ever presented it as a thing of dollars, and to be fought for if need be, but not to be cherished and perpetuated. *And is it certain that when better opinions shall prevail; that when they join, if they shall join, a Slave Republic,* a Republic to perpetuate the institution; when there shall be no less inducement to sell their slaves, and the assurance that when they shall sell them they will fall under the rule of a democracy *which must unfit them for association in a Slave Confederacy—the people of these States may not solicit an increase of slaves?* And is it policy to preclude the possibility of such an increase? . . .

We have no seamen for our commerce, if we had it, and no operations for the arts; but it is not for that I now oppose restrictions of the slave-trade. I oppose them from the wish to emancipate our institution. *I regard the slave-trade as the test of its integrity. If that be right, then slavery is right, but not without;* and I have been too clear in my perceptions of the claims of that great institution—too assured of the failure of antagonistic democracy, too convinced the one presents the conditions of social order, too convinced the other does not, and too convinced, therefore, that the one must stand while the other falls, to abate my efforts or to pretermit the means by which it may be brought to recognition and establishment. Believing, then, that this is a test of slavery, and that the institution cannot be right if the trade be not, *I regard the constitutional prohibition as a great calamity.* . . .

I was the single advocate of the slave-trade in 1853; it is now the question of the time. Many of us remember when we heard slavery

first declared to be the normal constitution of society: few will dare now to affirm it. Those opinions now roll on; they are now not only true but are coming to be trusted; they have moved the structure of the state, and men who will not take the impulse and advance must perish in the tracks of their advancement. The members of your convention may misdirect the movement—they may impede the movement —*they may so divert it that another revolution may be necessary;* but if necessarily that other revolution comes, slavery will stand serene, erect, aloft, unquestioned as to its rights or its integrity, at some points within the present limits of the Southern States; and it is only for present actors to determine whether they will contribute to that result or be crushed. . . .

If the clause be carried into the permanent Government, our whole movement is defeated. It will abolitionize the Border Slave States—it will brand our institution. Slavery cannot share a government with democracy—it cannot bear a brand upon it: *thence another revolution. It may be painful, but we must make it.*

GEORGE D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

IRVINGTON, August 22, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

. . . . . .

The general feeling here is one of entire confidence in putting down the rebellion; the government never stood so strong as now in the people's confidence. Charleston will be ours, and very soon; they are making sure work this time. Wood (Fernando), you remember, according to the *Herald* of a month or two ago, went on to Washington to advise Uncle Abe. The facts are, Uncle Abe sent for him and showed him some letters he had received from the South, which Wood confessed to be his. Uncle Abe went through the lot and gave him some good advice. Since then Wood has not talked.

The rebels are keeping very still, and I sometimes think that they are preparing a surprise for us, but all the information I can get leads me to think that they have about used themselves up. I cannot tell how the elections will go, because our party is united on no place or platform, but I believe we shall elect the Governors of Pennsylvania and Ohio sure. The trade on the Mississippi is getting active. The rise in railroad and

other stocks is beyond any former example, and I find many who were poor a year ago very wealthy now. I do not see any chance for a tight money market, as the new banks under Chase's law are multiplying very rapidly, though if we do not have continued success, gold and exchange will rise.

The day of riots is over and the strength of the government surely and firmly established. Welles writes that he is as much in favor of taking New York, if necessary, as Charleston. I think there are now nearly 100 vessels of all sizes building for the government. E. D. [Governor Morgan] is at the White Mountains, Welles at his post, which he has not left but for two weeks in two years' and a half service.

The apparent prosperity all through the North is astonishing. With a moderate demand for grain I cannot but anticipate a reverse of times, but no one thinks so, and from the new discoveries of gold recently made along the Rocky Mountains one would think we should have even an over-supply of that. We live in strange times. There is more real wealth and strength with and in the people of the North than in any other nation on earth. I am convinced of this more than ever since my return.

You are right on the matter of the draft. When I landed I said, "Blow up the city and its people with gunpowder, but do not postpone the draft." However, all is well that ends well. I have a great many enquiries about when you are coming home. At present you are doing as much good there as here. Copperheadism is killing itself.

I am writing this in view of a fleet of sloops and schooners passing up the river. The frequent showers have made the trees and grass as green as the buyers of the Confederate Loan, and, in fine, the Hudson river is a joy forever. May it be to us and ours for generations. Give our love to all at home, and to all we love in Paris.

Ever yours

P.S. To show you how wild some things are, Jerome, who is the Jacob Little now and who is the "bull" in Hudson River, Erie, Harlem, etc., owes 20 million dollars on demand loans made of the banks and bankers. So I hear.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD: THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN FRANCE

Private

Paris, August 28, 1863.

. . . My particular purpose in writing this note is to give the substance of a conversation I had recently with M. Garnier-Pagès,[1] who sent me word that he was coming to my house to talk with me about Mexican affairs. He came and devoted two hours to an explanation of what he and his friends regarded as the true policy of our government. The substance of it was that our ministers at Vienna and Brussels ought privately to press upon the sovereigns of those countries and the Archduke the obvious objections to his being used as an instrument to relieve France from an embarrassing position and to put Austria in her place. He then said as to France, that we ought to avail ourselves of the first good pretext to address this government a dispatch setting forth the objections to the importation of a foreign monarch into Mexico by France—as seen from a French point of view. He would have nothing said about the Monroe doctrine and especially nothing calculated to wound the *Amour propre* of the French people. . . .

But he would have the subject treated as if America and France had a common interest in the question and only wished to hit upon a policy which would be durable and promote the harmony and friendship of both nations. In that point of view he thought it might with propriety be suggested that on our continent there were no laws or armies that could control the

[1] Garnier-Pagès was born at Marseilles in 1803 and died at Paris in 1878. He became a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1842 and again in 1846. He participated actively in the reform banquets of 1847; in 1848 became one of the members of the provisional government, first as Mayor of Paris and later as Minister of Finance. Under the Empire in 1857 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Assemblée Législatif. In 1862 he published his "History of the Revolution of 1848," in eight volumes. In 1864 he was again elected a deputy from Paris, associating himself with the Republican opposition to the Imperial Government. He was reëlected in 1869; opposed the declaration of war against Prussia and was a member of the Government of National Defence to the end of the war. He always took a lively interest in the preservation of the American Union.

current of emigration, which in the progress of time must overflow more or less into Mexico; that the imposition of an unpopular form of government and a foreign sovereign upon the Mexicans would awaken a sympathy for them in our frontier States which would be more or less seriously felt by the Government of Mexico, however anxious the United States might be to prevent it; that it would be setting the world an example of intervention, which if followed would leave all the weak States at the mercy of the stronger and present temptations to all strong governments unfavorable to the prosperity of their own people and fatal to the peace of the rest of the world. I cannot undertake to give all his reasons, but in general he wished you would reason the question as far as possible from the liberal French point of view and thus give force and expression to the popular judgment against the whole Imperial policy in America. He thinks it would have a prodigious effect here and throughout Europe and produce such a pressure as would compel the government to recede. Nothing is more unpopular in Europe, and, I may add—the opinion I have always entertained—nothing is more absurd everywhere, than what is popularly known as the Monroe doctrine. They have no patience with our pretence that we alone shall have the right to add to our territory on a continent where there are two proprietors at least nearly as large as ourselves, especially at a moment when a large fraction of our territory is in a state of revolt. The hostile papers are now circulating reports of dispatches and speeches recently made by you to this government, in which you assert the determination to stand by the Monroe doctrine. It may be required by the state of public sentiment at home to put that view forward now, but it is a very prejudicial one. The imperial government would be glad no doubt to fix upon us some issue upon which Europe would be united against us, and nothing would serve such a purpose better than a revival of the Monroe doctrine. M. Pagès would have us take grounds, and there are enough of them, which Europe would sustain, and he thinks such a document in time to furnish the basis for the organization and rally of all the adversaries of the Mexican Expedition (who are numerous in all parties) in the Corps Législatif next winter would work wonders. I share his opinion entirely. An official document from you must be submitted to the Legis-

lature, and in that way it would find its way to the press and be read by the people. You can go over the whole case, beginning with his pledges in the beginning not to meddle with the form of government, though it will appear that the intrigue with the Archduke had commenced before the Expedition sailed and that agents to reconstruct the government upon French models were in Mexico before he had taken Puebla.

If you will write such a document that all the enemies of the Mexican Expedition can stand upon, it will serve better than any other question for a rallying-point to the opposition and bring to its discussion all the talent of the Chambers. By such a combination we should profit as much as any one. Excuse the adding of my opinion upon a question which I can only see through a glass darkly, and believe me

Very truly yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, September 9, 1863.

Dear Sir:

Your note of the 28th of August is received. If we were to write at all on the subject to which it refers, in the sense suggested by you, it would be difficult to reconcile the American Congress and People to the tone of the communication, so different equally from their traditions and their cherished expectations. On the other hand, I fully understand how any communication conceived in the spirit of these traditions and expectations would affect the temper of the party to be addressed. In view of the communications which have thus far passed between this Department and the French Government, there does not seem to be any pressing necessity, at the present moment, for a discussion of the question. Time and events may bring about such a necessity, or dispense with it altogether. *Of course no such menacing or defiant representations as the newspapers mention proceeded from this Government.* We are too intent on putting down our own insurrection, and avoiding complications which might embarrass us, to seek for occasions of dispute with any foreign power. I do not know,

but I think it reasonable to presume, that the Emperor finds the difficulty of his administration sufficient to employ him, without inviting any unnecessary difficulty with the United States. I may be wrong in the latter view. But if I am, there is likely to be time enough for us to change our course after discovering the error. The delicacy of the whole matter, however, is such that I must ask you not to speak upon it to any person, however friendly, for me, until you have communicated with Mr. Dayton and had his approbation of what you propose to say. I fully appreciate your loyal anxiety and very discreet counsel. I leave the matter for the present without further remark.

I remain, with high regard,

Very truly yours

Events have proved already that this warning was not premature, and that the perilous consequences of legitimating this abstract principle of international law are already upon us. The Hispano-African government of Santo Domingo has been borrowing from foreign markets more or less frequently for more than thirty years. The last large loan was for refunding and resumption of payment of old debts in 1893 amounting to $10,000,000. It, like its predecessors, was defaulted; and in 1897 both it and other old outstanding debts were converted into a low-rate bond for $21,000,000. As usual, default ensued on that.

Mindful of the visit of English and German gunboats off Caracas in 1902 to enforce payment of the debts of Venezuela incurred for injuries suffered by foreign residents of that country at the hands of riotous natives, and doubtless recognizing the logical necessity of providing for the collection of debts which we deny to other governments the right to collect themselves by force when necessary, the State Department has entered into an arrangement with the Dominican Government whereby the United States undertakes, in behalf of Santo Domingo and its creditors, the following duties:

The American Government agrees to undertake the adjustment of all the obligations of the Dominican Government, foreign as well as domestic; the adjustment of the payments and of the conditions of

amortization; the reconsideration of conflicting and unreasonable claims; and the determination of the validity and amount of all pending claims.

In order to protect the said responsibility the American Government shall take charge of the custom-house receipts, and, in order to guarantee the regular receipt of the funds required for the faithful and exact payment of the obligations thus liquidated and accepted, shall take charge of the existing custom-houses, and of those which may hereafter be created, naming the employees necessary for their management.

Out of the revenues which shall be collected in all the custom-houses of the republic, the Government of the United States shall deliver to the Dominican Government a sum which shall not be less than 45 per cent. of the total gross amount collected, for the purpose of attending to the necessities of the administrative budget, this being estimated for the first year at the sum of $900,000. To the Government of the United States it falls to pay out of the 55 per cent. which it detains:

(*a*) The employees of all the custom-houses.

(*b*) The interest, amortization and instalments of the Dominican debt, foreign and domestic, in accordance with what is hereinbefore provided, according as it shall be fixed and liquidated.

(*c*) The whole surplus which may remain at the end of each fiscal year shall be delivered to the Dominican Republic, or shall be devoted to the payment of its debt, if it shall so determine.

The American Government, at the request of the Dominican Republic, shall grant such other assistance as may be in its power to restore the credit, preserve the order, increase the efficiency of the civil administration and advance the material progress and the welfare of the republic.

It may be worth observing here that the President and Secretary of State, without consulting either of the subordinate branches of government, deliberately charged our Government with practically all the duties of sovereignty over the island of Santo Domingo; and that, under their interpretation of what they call the Monroe Doctrine, they have deemed this step too urgent to be deferred until such time as it would be possible to comply with the provisions of the Constitution requiring all treaties with foreign powers to be approved by the Senate. Here a precedent has been already given which may be a matter for congratulation to the people of all other nations but

our own, for it is a precedent which entitles them to allow the Latin states on this continent to run in debt to them as much as they please, and to require us to take the trouble and expense of collecting such debt or paying it ourselves. That this is no imaginary liability, it may not be inappropriate here to recall the fact that the Venezuela debt is still in default; that Colombia owes some $13,000,000 to European creditors; that Costa Rica defaulted in paying the interest on its debt in 1874, converted its debt with a lien upon the customs in 1887, made a new arrangement in 1897, and defaulted again in 1901; that Guatemala owes $7,000,000 and has paid nothing on its debt since 1899; and that Honduras, which borrowed some $15,000,000 more than thirty years ago, has paid no interest since 1872. Though none of these debts was incurred in the United States, none of the bonds are circulating here; and to that extent we have no interest in them. The government at Washington has given the world a right—or at least an encouragement—to expect that we will provide for all these debts as we are undertaking to provide for the debts of Santo Domingo. If we assume, as perhaps we may, that the foreign creditors will be satisfied with what they get under this treaty or contract with Santo Domingo and similar contracts with other bankrupt states, who is to guarantee the submission of those states whose revenues our officers shall take in their charge in perpetuity? If we have to keep order in these Latin-American republics, as well as pay their debts, I fear that it will not leave us enough surplus force long to pay our own debts or keep order at home.[1]

[1] For further information upon the Monroe Doctrine and its implications, see the *New York Sun,* Feb. 11, 1905, Republican Senators Declare that the Senate Cannot Delegate its Treaty-making Duty to the President; Feb. 12, 1905, The President's Letter to Senator Cullom. *New York Evening Post,* Feb. 13, 1905, Santo Domingo Treaty's Peril—Santo Domingo Policy Attacked. *New York Herald,* Feb. 14, 1905, The Senate on its Mettle. *New York Sun,* Feb. 15, 1905, Peace in Santo Domingo; Feb. 16, 1905, Senate has Santo Domingo Treaty. *New York Evening Post,* Feb. 18, 1905. *Herald,* March 10, 1905, Senate may Decide to Reject Dominican Treaty. *Sun,* March 10, 1905, The Fundamental Question Posed by the San Domingo Treaty. *Evening Post,* March 15, 1905, With all the Washington Dispatches declaring the Dominican Treaty dead. *Sun,* March 15, 1905, Prospects of Santo Domingo Treaty. *New York Times,* March 16, 1905, Domingo Treaty Dead—No Vote to be Cast—May Defy the Senate—France may Coerce Castro. *Herald,* March 16, 1905, Santo Domingo is Thirty-three Millions in Debt—Mr. Roosevelt not yet Dictator; Santo Domingo Treaty Dead. *Even-*

GEORGE P. MARSH[1] TO BIGELOW

TURIN, Sept. 3, 1863.

Dear Sir:

Returning yesterday from a short excursion to the fort of Monte Rosa, I found your note of Aug. 25 and the number of the *Constitutionnel* referred to. I sent off my manuscript six weeks since, and it is now in press, but I shall probably be in time to introduce some of the interesting facts contained in the article you so kindly sent me, in notes. I have derived more aid from French than from all other sources in the preparation of my volume, and was already very well provided with information on the subject of *déboisement* and *reboisement,* but the writer in the *Constitutionnel* provided several valuable data which were new to me.

My book is a sort of counterpart to Guyot's, and is, I believe, a first attempt to show how and how far human action has modified the Physical Geography of the earth. It has no pretensions to a scientific character properly speaking, but will, I hope, be found to contain some suggestions of practical value.

Thanking you for this as well as former kindnesses, I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours

ing Post, March 16, 1905, The Warning to the President. *Times,* March 17, 1905, The San Domingo Lesson. *Herald,* March 17, 1905, Exciting Events Ripening in the Caribbean Sea; America Controls Dominican Ports; March 19, 1905, Senate Adjourns Ignoring San Domingo Treaty; March 20, 1905, Cruel Washington Dashed Hopes of Mrs. Reader. *Times,* March 20, 1905, Roosevelt Blocked Mission of Reader. *Sun,* March 21, 1905, France's Warning to Castro. *Herald,* March 22, 1905, Venezuela Refused Funds in Paris—Consolidation of the Venezuelan Debt—Three Nations Threaten to Use Force with Venezuela—Mr. Bowen Sends Strong Note that President Castro must Arbitrate or Fight—Italy's Claim for Mines Seized—Denies Morales Saw Mr. and Mrs. Reader. *Sun,* March 23, 1905, Venezuela Situation; March 24, 1905, President Blames the Senate; April 8, 1905, Latin-American Securities and President Roosevelt; August 12, 1905, Teachers Hear Roosevelt. *Herald,* August 19, 1905, Does n't Like Mr. Roosevelt's Policy. *Sun,* July 9, 1906, Attacks the Monroe Doctrine; Oct. 30, 1906, The Monroe Doctrine Not Obsolete. *Herald,* Oct. 30, 1906, American Policy called Obsolete. *Evening Post,* Dec. 4, 1906, Message of President Roosevelt—The Rio Conference. *Sun,* Dec. 6, 1906, The President on the Monroe Doctrine.

[1] Mr. Marsh was a citizen of Vermont, a member of Congress from 1842 to 1849, Minister to Turkey from 1849 to 1853, and Minister to Italy from 1861 to 1882. The book upon which he was occupied at the writing of this letter was entitled "The Earth as Modified by Human Action."

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

Paris, Sept. 7, 1863.

My dear Friend:

I thank you for your very obliging remembrance from Surrey, which reached me just as I was leaving for Brest. Since then I have had no leisure for private correspondence. . . .

You can imagine my business at Brest. There are no docks in that port except those belonging to the Government in which a vessel like the *Florida,* the ci-devant *Orito,* can be hauled out and repaired. That was one of the reasons, I suspect, of her going there, for she had to pass both Havre and Cherbourg to get to Brest, and in either of those ports the commercial facilities were sufficient for the *Florida's* exigencies.

The French Government has decided to take her in and repair her. This in fact is a logical consequence of acknowledging her owners as belligerents and shows what an outrage that acknowledgment was to the United States; that a vessel reeking with the incendiarism and plunder of the vessels of a friendly nation and laden with the crews they had captured, should not only find shelter in a French port but should be repaired in a government yard that she might go forth with renewed strength to pursue her career of useless waste and devastation.

I suspect the harbor of Brest was selected not by accident for an asylum, and I have reason to think that before the dock was opened to the *Florida* your Government was consulted and a conclusion arrived at by both your Government and this, to assert and mutually defend and protect each other in asserting the right to permit the equipment of vessels of war in each other's ports to sell to foreign powers. Earl Russell's letter to the Union Emancipation Society—which is a practical assertion of that right, for it is nonsense to talk of wanting proof of the character of the vessels now preparing for the Confederates at Liverpool—confirms this suspicion. There are also a couple of vessels building at Bordeaux with the same destination.

Till the last week I had hoped your Government would have

testified at least a formal sort of respect for its neutral obligations, and that would have served as a check to the powers on this side of the straits. That hope is now pretty much gone. It is obvious that England and France are intending to act together and do just as much mischief as they can to the United States with the least hazard and expense. In my opinion neither intends that we shall put down the rebellion in America if they can help it, even by a resort to the *ultima ratio regum*, and if I did not know that both these Governments have masters whom they cannot always mislead and to whom they are sometimes obliged to listen, I should regard a war between the United States on the one hand and France and England on the other, which is now only very probable, as certain within three months. France would like nothing better except to have England and the United States fight alone, but she would cheerfully join England to get her engaged with us. France would not suffer much, for she has but little commerce, and conceding us every advantage, she would only lose some of her West Indian colonies that are worthless and a few thousand soldiers that are an expense to the Government in time of peace. England would, however, bleed at every pore in such a war. We have no commerce afloat to indemnify her for the ravages our privateers would make upon hers. She would be put to an enormous expense to retain her American possessions, and conceding to her every imaginable success, would come out of the war with an enormous addition to her debt and a yet more enormous reduction of her commercial and maritime resources. This is precisely what France would enjoy. There is no prayer in which all Frenchmen will unite without distinction of sect or party but one for the crippling of England's maritime power. And it is for that the Emperor is manœuvering with all his genius, while your rulers seem mainly occupied with the ignoble object of retaining their places.

Excuse me for that last remark. I mean no disrespect to any one, nor do I write from any feeling. In what I say to you I try to give the impressions of an observer having no interests not common to all humanity. I have too large an interest in the prosperity of all nations and share too large a heritage from each to allow myself to be the victim of a narrow and bigoted patriotism. As I judge my own Government at home, I judge the other Governments in the great republic

of nations to which I belong, and equally deplore the errors of each and rejoice in the legitimate successes of all.

It may be, as I have often suspected and sometimes intimated, I believe, to you, that it is in the order of Providence that, as with us so with you, the privileged class in its jealousy of the growing power of the people may attempt a task beyond their strength. Regardless of what is due to a friendly power, regardless of the moral character of the struggle going on in the United States, seeing only that the Samson of democracy is blind-folded and in bonds, they may be tempted to make him an object of sport and derision to the world. If they do—and, such is the blind infatuation of all privileged classes, thanks to a merciful Providence, nothing at present seems more probable—you may look for as great changes in England during the next five years as during any other five years in her history. If the people do not take the power out of the hands of the aristocracy of England before it takes them into a war with America, they certainly will afterwards. No member of the aristocracy will sign the treaty of peace, unless affairs go very much worse with us than there is at present any reason to anticipate and unless Providence exercises much less economy in the use of its forces than usual.

You see how I contrive to continue as much of an optimist as ever and to find a certain sort of comfort in everything that occurs or threatens to occur, however deplorable its immediate effects seem to be. These are times when all men, and Americans especially, must walk by faith rather than by sight. We are all walking more or less blindly. No one knows what he is really doing nor what is the real bearing of his efforts. All he can do is to try to do right and as much of it as he can, and leave the rest to One who never makes a miscalculation and never wastes a trial or a temptation.

Under any and all circumstances, in peace or in war, I hope to preserve the few friends I have in England, among whom I profit by this opportunity, while our countries are still at peace, to assure you that I regard you and yours as among the most valued.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Sept. 8, 1863.

Dear Sir:

I learn from competent authority that at the recent Council of Ministers it was impossible to fix the Emperor's attention upon any of the questions of European politics with which his Cabinet were occupied; he would constantly interrupt their discussions to lead them to talk about recognizing the Southern Confederacy. When they objected that the English government was not yet ready to join France in such a step, his reply was that France had a policy in Mexico which it was necessary to follow with or without England and that the recognition of the South was their first duty. It is by his direction that the official papers are constantly urging the necessity and expediency of recognition.

I presume Mr. Dayton has notified you of the result of my trip to Brest. I am persuaded that the French government consulted with the English before taking the *Florida* into the government yard and that they are agreed upon a policy in reference to selling ships of war to belligerents as well as the repairing of them.

The *France,* an official journal, stated last evening that 65 of the crew of the *Florida* had gone to England to join some of the new corsairs fitting out there. The second engineer of the *Florida* came on to Havre in the steamer with me. He was on his way to Liverpool doubtless with the same object, though he pretended to have left the service.

Captain Maffitt will no doubt soon leave to take command of one of the new corsairs, for it is not to be supposed that he will be suffered to lie two or three months watching the repairs which the French government has signified its willingness to take charge of for a compensation.

The new brochure entitled "États-Unis, Mexique et la France"—if that is the title—to which the officious press try to give importance, was written at the request and expense of Erlanger & Cie., the bankers who were the French midwives of the Confederate loan.

I beg to call your attention to the article on the "American

Blockade'' in the *London Times* of the 7th, in which it appears that the old *Sumter,* now called the *Gibraltar,* has again reappeared in the Confederate Navy at Bermuda.

Yours very truly

FRANCE AND THE CONFEDERATE NAVY

DAYTON TO BIGELOW

Sep. 9th, 1863.

Mr. Bigelow:

I commend the bearer and his statement to your consideration. I only ask that you will *hear* what he has to say, etc., etc.

Yours

On the 10th of September the foregoing letter from Mr. Dayton was handed to me by the messenger of the consulate, with the request from the bearer of the letter to see me personally.

Permission granted, a man of middle age presently entered, and, after closing the door carefully and satisfying himself that we were alone, proceeded to say that he had a communication to make of considerable importance to my Government.

I asked him to be seated, and waited for him to proceed. He asked if I was aware that the Confederates were building war-vessels in France. I replied that rumors of the kind had reached me, but as they came from or through wholly irresponsible sources, usually needy Confederate refugees, and had received no confirmation from our consuls at the ship-building ports, I had ceased to attach much importance to them. He proceeded to state as facts within his own knowledge that there were then building in the ports of Bordeaux and Nantes for account of the Confederate States of America several vessels, some of which were armor-plated and rams, which together were to cost from twelve to fifteen millions of francs; that the engines for some of them were built and ready

to be put in, and that for the armament of these vessels artillery and shells had also been ordered. I here remarked that no vessel of war could be built in France without the authorization of the French Government. He replied that the official authorization for the construction, equipment and arming of these vessels had already been issued from the Department of the Marine. I asked him if he meant seriously to affirm that the vessels he spoke of were building under an official authorization of the government. He reaffirmed his statement, and added further that he was prepared to prove it to my entire satisfaction.

I tried not to betray my sense of the supreme importance of this communication, which was too circumstantial and precise to be wholly imaginary, if possibly exaggerated. Besides, I had attached more importance than any one else seemed to, to rumors of the same nature which had reached me previously, simply for the reason that the difficulties which the Confederates had encountered in their efforts to recruit their navy in England made it seem not only natural but almost inevitable that they should transfer their preparations to a country the government of which was supposed to be in greater sympathy with their schemes, and where, under such circumstances, the courts of justice would have less power to annoy.

I said to my visitor, "Of course what you state is of grave importance to my Government if it can be substantiated, but of none at all without proofs which cannot be disputed or explained away. What kind of proofs can you furnish?" I asked.

"Original documents," he said; "and, what is more, I will engage that, with my proofs in hand, you can effectually secure the arrest of the ships."

As the contractors, according to his statement, had already received an official authorization from the Department of Marine to execute their contract for the Confederates, I asked him why he supposed any proofs he might produce could change the destiny of the ships. He replied that the official authorization appeared on its face to have been procured through false representations.

He thereupon produced a certified copy of the government authorization and some half-dozen original letters and papers, showing, beyond a doubt, the substantial truth of his state-

ments. These papers he proposed to leave with me and to wait upon me again on the Saturday following, the interval to be employed by him in procuring some supplementary proofs which he described to me. I could no longer resist the conclusion that my visitor was in earnest, and that he was in possession of, or controlled, evidence of which no time should be lost in securing possession. Before he left I asked him upon what conditions I was to receive this service at his hands, for there was not much ground for presuming that his zeal for our national unity was entirely disinterested. He said that of course the papers were not obtainable without some expense and much trouble, and that when the documents he proposed to furnish me had actually defeated the naval operations of the Confederates in France, he would expect 20,000 francs. I replied to him that that was a large sum of money, but that I could not say that it was too large until I had seen what he proposed to bring me as its equivalent. If, however, I decided to use the papers, he might rely upon being properly compensated.

At the hour agreed upon on Saturday, the 12th, my visitor reappeared with his supplementary proofs. These, with those already in my possession, were conclusive; nothing could have been more conclusive. The following autograph note from M. Arman, of Bordeaux, to M. Voruz, of Nantes, would alone have answered our purpose.

ARMAN TO VORUZ

Translation

Dear Mr. Voruz:

I have received your letter of the 9th, and Bullock's[1] check for 720,000 francs enclosed. I hasten to send you a receipt, and also, in accordance with your request, the papers which you have signed, in the hand of Bullock, for the first payment of two ships of four hundred horse-power which I am building for account of the Confederates, simultaneously with those you are having built with Jollet et Babin and Dubigeon fils. I beg you to arrange with Mr. Bullock to finally reimburse us for the guaranty commissions we pay to Mr. Erlanger.

Accept, etc.

[1] The agent of the Navy Department of the Confederate Government in Europe.

Arman was the builder at Bordeaux with whom Captain Bullock had contracted for the construction of the ships referred to in the foregoing note. He was also said to be "solid" with the Emperor, who was anxious to encourage ship-building in France, as well as to discountenance republicanism in America; and, finally, he was a member of the Corps Législatif. M. Voruz was a large iron-founder and machinist at Nantes, and he was also a member of the Corps Législatif. Both were devoted Imperialists.

As time was of supreme importance to the Confederates, and as M. Arman could not undertake to deliver all of the ships required within the ten months stipulated for by his contract, he had arranged with M. Voruz, of Nantes, for the construction of part of them, he undertaking the rest and being responsible to the Confederates for all. Of course these facts only came to my knowledge later. At the time of which I am speaking, I knew nothing of the relations between Arman and Voruz beyond what was revealed in the papers submitted to me. While this letter was conclusive, at least, as to one of the parties to this contract, the following letter from Captain Bullock, which was next placed in my hands, was equally conclusive as to the other:

BULLOCK TO VORUZ

LIVERPOOL, August 12, 1863.

I have received, Mr. Voruz, your letter of the 4th instant, with memoranda of prices of rifle cannon and accessories. I am unable to give you a direct and positive order for such cannon before learning from Captain Blakely[1] how his *canon cerclé* has succeeded. Nevertheless, I should be pleased to treat with you, if we can agree with you upon the conditions; we will discuss them when I am at Nantes.

It is my intention to confide my affairs to as few hands as possible, and I hope that we may agree upon all essential points, so that our relations may be extended even in case of peace. Our government will be obliged, no doubt, to apply to France for the construction of its engines, and so far as I am personally concerned I should be enchanted if the relations we have had together should lead in the future to still

[1] A noted manufacturer of ordnance having an office in London.

more considerable orders. I will thank you to inform me how the corvettes progress, and when the second payments will be due. I shall write you a week before my arrival at Nantes.

My visitor next showed me Erlanger's guaranty, the cost of which Arman wished Voruz to persuade Bullock to assume.

ERLANGER'S GUARANTY TO ARMAN

Translation

PARIS, June 9, 1863.

Mr. Arman:

I engage to guarantee the two first payments for the ships which you are constructing for the Confederates for a commission of five per cent., which I shall retain out of funds which I have for you. I shall reserve to myself the privilege of declining to guarantee the last three-fifths; but if I consent, my commissions on the sums guaranteed will not be more than three per cent.

Accept, etc.

The foregoing guaranty was the financial sequence of the following note from John Slidell, the Confederate Plenipotentiary at Paris, to Arman, which was next handed to me.

Let me observe that not long after these arrangements were consummated a son and partner of the subscriber to the above guaranty married a daughter of Mr. Slidell.

SLIDELL TO ARMAN

PARIS, June 6, 1863.

Mr. Arman:

In consequence of the ministerial authorization which you have shown me and which I deemed sufficient, the contract of the 15th of April becomes binding.

Accept, etc.

The authorization which is referred to in this note, and which Slidell "deemed sufficient," was issued by the Department of the Marine on the 6th of June in response to an application from M. Arman of the 1st of that month, of the tenor following:

APPLICATION FOR MINISTERIAL AUTHORIZATION

Translation

BORDEAUX, June 1, 1863.

Mr. Minister:

I request of your Excellency authority, in accordance with the royal ordinance of July 12, 1847, to equip with an armament of from twelve to fourteen thirty-pounders four steamships, now constructing, of wood and iron:

Two in the shipyards at Bordeaux;

One by Messrs. Jollet et Babin at Nantes;

One by Dubigeon at Nantes.

These ships are destined by a foreign shipper to ply the Chinese and Pacific seas, between China, Japan, and San Francisco.

Their special armament contemplates their eventual sale to the governments of China and Japan.

The guns will be furnished by Mr. Voruz, Sr., of Nantes, and the accessory pieces, according to circumstances, at Bordeaux or Nantes.

The export of these arms will only be delayed the time necessary for the construction of the ships, which are consigned to Messrs. A. Eymand and Delphin Henry, shippers at Bordeaux, to whom, in 1859, I sent the steamer *Cosmopolite* under the English flag.

The construction of these ships has been in progress since the 15th of April last. I beg your Excellency will be good enough to accord to Mr. Voruz, as early as possible, the authorization which I ask, as prescribed by the royal ordinance of July 12, 1847.

ARMAN.

The Minister's reply to this application ran as follows:

Translation

MINISTRY OF MARINE, June 6, 1863.

Sir:

I hasten to advise you in reply to your letter of the 1st instant, that I cheerfully (*volontiers*) authorize you to equip with an arma-

ment of twelve thirty-pound guns the four steamships now constructing of wood and iron at Bordeaux and Nantes. I will thank you to inform me, in time, when the ships will be ready for sea, that I may give the necessary instructions to the heads of the department in these two ports.

COMTE P. DE CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT.

That a minister of marine was stupid enough to believe for a moment that any foreign shipper could be found to build, equip and arm four or five first-class vessels of war, and take his chance of marketing them on the other side of the planet, was not supposable. It would be a wild enough scheme for any one to go to France for one such vessel on such a venture; it was yet more incredible that any foreign shipper could give an order to build several vessels of war and equip them in French ports at an expense of several millions of dollars—an event in itself quite without precedent in the history of France—without the Emperor and his ministers knowing who the foreign shipper was. To know who ordered these ships was to know the service for which they were designed, and also to know that the destination assigned in the application and in the license was for purposes which the Government could not publicly approve or avow, and in distinct and deliberate violation of the Emperor's declaration of the 10th of June previous, which forbade "any Frenchman taking a commission for the armament of vessels of war for either of the two belligerents, or accepting letters of marque, or coöperating in any way whatsoever in the equipment or arming of any vessels of war or corsair of either belligerent."

I immediately communicated the substance of the revelations to Mr. Dayton and placed the testimony to their authenticity in his hands.[1]

[1] For a detailed account of this scheme to supply the Confederacy with a navy, and what came of it, the reader is referred to "France and the Confederate Navy, 1862–1868: An International Episode," by John Bigelow (Harper & Brothers, 1888).

BIGELOW TO DAYTON

PARIS, Sept. 10, 1863.

Sir:

I was visited yesterday by a person, whose name and address I will communicate to you when I next have occasion to go to the legation, who professed to have personal knowledge and competent proofs of the following facts, to wit:

There are now building in the ports of France for the Confederate service,

4 ships to cost	7,200,000 frs. each
2 ships to cost	2,000,000 frs. each
1 gunboat, cost not stated	
Turrets for gunboats to cost 14,000,000 francs	
48 pieces of artillery to cost 7,000 francs each	
10,000 shells to cost 40 francs the 5 kilogrammes	

The engines for the six ships first named are ready to be put in and the requisite authorization has been received from the departments of War and Navy.

The engine of the gunboat not being yet finished, the authorization has not yet been issued for it.

My informant says that the authorizations for the others were granted upon false representations and that, if the fraud which had been practised upon them were exposed to the Departments, the authorizations would not only be promptly withdrawn, but the house which had obtained them—the only one he says of the requisite capacity to fill such an order in France—would find it difficult to obtain future facilities from the Departments.

The vessels will be ready for sea, he assured me, in about three months. Agents have quite recently arrived, offering large pecuniary inducements to hurry forward the work and stating that any obstacles to their earlier completion which money could remove they were prepared to remove.

The same gentleman tells me that he has a letter from the constructor of these vessels to another person in the same

business which states the substance of these facts and that he is building them for the Confederate Navy.

He professes also to be able to furnish other confirmatory proofs of the fact. He proposes to deposit all his proofs in my hands on Saturday morning on condition that I will engage to pay him 15,000 francs when, by the aid of those proofs, the builders have been effectually prevented from making a delivery of those vessels to the Confederate government. Till then he asks nothing.

The following is a translation of a memorandum of his proposition which I requested him to make that I might submit it to American friends whose concurrence I might require before entering into any engagement with him.

"For the sum of 15,000 francs, I agree to prove that the Confederate States of America are at the present moment causing the construction of considerable armaments for a sum of from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 francs.

"I will produce a signed document whose authenticity shall be shown, and will give all information and furnish all other documents of a nature to expose the situation thereof.

"If my proofs are not sufficient and do not result in hindering the delivery of their armament to the Confederates, I shall claim no right to indemnity."

He first asked 20,000 francs, but finally fixed the sum stated in his memorandum of 15,000.

I am not sure that I can bring him to accept a less sum, though it is possible that he may abate another 5,000 francs.

I have no funds to pledge for any such service as this, nor do I suppose that you have, and yet I cannot doubt that you will agree with me that the proofs this man proposes to furnish ought to be secured at almost any price. I am willing to make the advance if you think the government will approve of the step and indemnify me. As the man comes to town expressly to-morrow to receive his answer, I will thank you to favor me with your advice in the matter at your earliest convenience.

Yours very respectfully

DAYTON TO BIGELOW

PARIS, Sept. 11, 1863.

Dear Sir:

I entirely agree with you as to the importance of securing the evidence within referred to, and upon the terms therein stated; if no better can be had. I cannot doubt but that the government will approve the step and indemnify you.

Respectfully yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, Sept. 18, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I have just returned from Augerville de Rivière, the country residence of M. Berryer, the eminent French advocate, and, I may add, the leader of what is known as the party of Legitimists. My pretext for the visit was to consult him professionally about our legal rights under the laws of France to prevent the delivery of the vessels building for the Confederates at Nantes and Brest, about which I wrote you by the last post. I was encouraged also to seek this interview by the hope of assisting him to a better comprehension of our relations with France than was practicable by the indirect means which we had been using. As he is the most eminent orator among the Deputies-elect to the Corps Législatif which meets next month; as he is very popular and very powerful in France on all questions not involving dynastic relations; as he will sit in the Corps Législatif face to face with the M. Arman who is building two of the new Confederate ironclads at Bordeaux and with M. Bravé, who is the pretended agent of the Viceroy of Egypt in the purchase of the ships building at Liverpool; and, finally, as I had abundant reason to know that he is altogether dissatisfied with any French policy calculated to disunite or weaken the United States, I thought I would go down

and see him, and while taking his advice about our legal rights in reference to the steamers improve the opportunity to talk a little of other political matters. His secretary had prepared him for my visit and he received me very cordially. I will endeavor to give you as briefly as possible the principal result of an interview which lasted over three hours, part of the time in his cabinet and part of the time walking over his princely estate, which he took occasion to remark with some pride had once belonged to an old Jacobite.

In reference to the steamers he said it was very clear that they should not be allowed to leave until the government had deliberately made up its mind to abandon its neutrality; when they had done that, it was of no consequence what the law was, to us. The courts would decide whatever the government desired. He drew an eloquent picture of the humiliating position to which the French people were reduced. They had no means of getting at the intentions of the government or of resisting it. Nothing was supposed to be read in France which it did not please the government to have known, and what was household talk all over the world the French people were carefully kept in ignorance of. He deplored the Mexican expedition; could not comprehend the object of it and classed it with a number of similar enterprises at the ends of the earth, upon which the Emperor was wasting the energies of France for no intelligible good. He seemed a little surprised when I expressed my conviction that the Archduke would accept the throne of Mexico and asked if his Uncle would approve of the arrangement. I told him that I thought the Emperor saw so much relief to himself in such a variety of ways from the transfer of the Mexican burden from his shoulders to those of a German prince, related more or less directly to all the royal families of Europe, that he would remove every obstacle to the accomplishment of such a result. He then spoke of the Archduke, whom he knew personally; said he was *un esprit vague* and was no doubt influenced through some of the infirmities of his character to yield to this temptation, but what possible good can France realize from this? was his constant refrain. I replied that she would collect her 700,000 francs, which Mexico owed some of her citizens. Yes, he replied, to fill the pockets of de Morny and his speculators. In regard to the U. S. he said, "I should be very sorry to have France embroiled with the United

States: I hold, as you might of course infer from my political association'' (this he said with a smile), ''to the policy of Louis XVI.'' He said he would regard it as a deplorable calamity to have the Union severed, if for no other reason than to make weight against England, to which government he attributed the ruin both of the Bourbon and Orléans governments in France. He said no good had ever come of any French alliances with England, and the last promised to be more fatal than any which had preceded it. He asked if we were really going to succeed in reducing the rebellion. I told him that was our expectation, and in giving some reasons I spoke of our military and naval strength; of what our artillery had recently accomplished; I mentioned that we had a hundred vessels building for the navy at the present moment, etc., and that, said I, explains in part the manifest change in the public opinion of England towards us recently. They see that, with their commerce on every sea, a war, however successful as against us, would be ruin to them. ''But how would it be with France?'' he asked; ''why should we not suffer just as much?'' ''You have not so much commerce,'' was my reply. ''Yes, that is true,'' said he. ''That reminds me of a steady young bourgeois in the first French Revolution who was in very good spirits at being enrolled in the National Guard and having to patrol the streets at night, etc. A very nice place it was, he said, and then he added, 'for, you see, just now *luckily* no business is doing.' So,'' said M. Berryer, ''luckily for France, she has no commerce and therefore she can go to war with impunity.''

He said he could not stand the way things were going on in France any longer and he meant to fight. He was determined to do what he could to make the nation comprehend its position. I suggested that he would probably experience some difficulty in uniting the opposition, composed of such a variety of parties, as it was, into a solid and effective organization upon any European question. He said that was very true and it was going to require a great deal of discretion and forbearance to secure anything like unity. That was their great difficulty, and it might well be that they would succeed better in that object upon questions outside of Europe. As I had previously explained my views upon that point to his secretary, which I saw from his reply had been communicated to

him, I did not press that point any farther. He said that there was a very large number of the Members *soi-disant* imperialists, who were utterly dissatisfied with the Mexican Expedition and thought just as he did about their recognizing the Confederate States, who nevertheless would not dare to vote against the government, and the reason they gave to him was that a vote against the government would bring on a crisis, ruin the public credit, which according to their theory is thus literally sustained by force, and then would follow all the evils, tried and untried, which follow in the train of French Revolutions. When I suggested that I had neglected no opportunity of impressing upon my American friends in the press and elsewhere the importance of discriminating between the French people and the French government in censuring the new policy adopted towards the U. S., he said, "You are right, they are in this business quite distinct. The French people are against any step unfriendly to the U. S. Unfortunately the Emperor has one advantage over the French people (I don't mean by that to question his legitimacy," he added with a quizzical smile): "he can follow his interests without being led aside by his *Amour propre;* unfortunately we Frenchmen will always make our interests secondary where our *Amour propre* is involved. In that way he is leading us a chase; whither, nobody seems to know but himself."

In the course of his conversation he said that it chanced to come to his knowledge professionally that the French Consul had had on deposit with him some fifteen months or more $900,000 gold to be paid for Confederate Army clothing made in France and to be delivered in Havana. He also said that Emissaries of the South had interviews with the Emperor in Paris before the war broke out in America and that what has since occurred was less of a surprise to him than it was perhaps to us. As I was about leaving M. Berryer renewed the assurances of his thorough devotion to our cause as being identical with the true policy and interests of France and said he would be glad to have me send him anything I learned calculated to enlighten him in regard to the questions likely to arise between the two nations. He declined to accept the fee which I laid upon his table, saying that we had no occasion for an advocate, which was his vocation, and that he was happy to talk over these matters with me. Then I replied, I felt as if I

had no business there. "Well, no matter," he replied; "I have need to talk with you," and so I left. I need not say how entirely confidential this all should be regarded, even though it should appear of trifling importance. I have thought these details might save the necessity of future explanations when M. Berryer becomes more prominently associated with Franco-American questions, and hence I have written long and spared not.

Yours very truly

P.S. The agent through whom I received the correspondence about the war steamers at Bordeaux writes me this morning:

"A mon retour chez moi, j'y trouve une lettre du Ministre, qui m'annonce d'une manière formelle, qu'il ne laissera rien exécuter en France pour les Confédérés.

"C'est une preuve irréfragable, que le Gouvernement a été surpris dans les sièges qu'il a précédemment données.

"Je tiens cette lettre à votre disposition."

I have sent for this letter and expect it by next post. I propose to send the writer of the above to Nantes and Bordeaux to get the plans of the vessels and anything else which is likely to prove of service to us and within his reach. He requires only his expenses paid.

Yours very truly

M. Berryer at this time was no longer *in vegentibus annis;* he was seventy-three years of age. His professional career had been perhaps the most distinguished of any French barrister in history. Himself the son of a distinguished lawyer, for the forty years succeeding his admission to the bar it is safe to say that he was employed more frequently than any other one barrister in cases of the most wide-spread national and international interest. Among them it is sufficient to enumerate his defence of Lamennais, of the Duchesse de Berry, of Prince Louis Napoleon after his Boulogne enterprise, the Comte de Chambord, the Orléans princes, the Patterson-Bonaparte family and the Comte de Montalembert.

Berryer was first elected a deputy in 1830, but always remained in the opposition, a sincere Legitimist and perhaps the most trusted adviser of the Comte de Chambord. In 1861

France celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his admission to the bar, an occasion which was distinguished at the time as the "Fête d'Éloquence." In 1863 he was again elected to the Chamber of Deputies, but rarely spoke except upon questions of finance and administration. Though a Legitimist in politics, he acted in the Chamber with M. Thiers and his half-dozen colleagues in opposition to the Emperor's policy in North America. The Emperor never forgot the services Berryer rendered him on his trial for his Boulogne expedition.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

Paris, Sept. 18, 1863.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Thayer, our Consul at Alexandria, arrived in Paris on the evening of the 14th inst., in very delicate health, having only partially recovered from a dangerous illness. He has just mentioned to me some facts which he would like you to know, but which he does not feel quite strong enough to write to-day without unduly fatiguing himself. I have therefore volunteered to act as his scribe. He received this morning the annexed letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Viceroy of Egypt, giving, as you will see, a flat denial to the story that the Viceroy was interested in the ships building by Laird at Birkenhead. Mr. Thayer also learned this morning something of interest about the Mr. Behr whom Laird named as the person who had bought the ironclads for the Viceroy.

Mr. Dudley speaks of him as the Messrs. Behr & Co. Perhaps that is the style used by Laird himself, but the simple fact is that Behr is the agent and broker of Erlanger & Cie., bankers of this city, for the Confederates. Behr is the man who went to Richmond to negotiate the Confederate loan of £3,000,000 brought out long ago by Erlanger & Cie., and his connexion with the Viceroy is quite as apocryphal as the intimacy of Betsey Prig with Mrs. Harris.

Mr. Thayer has also seen to-day Nubar Pasha, the special

envoy of the Viceroy now in Paris. When he called, he found Bravé the Frenchman, who was reported to have the contract with the Viceroy for the furnishing of these ships, sitting with him. The result of his conversation with Nubar Pasha and with the gentleman from whom the fact already reported came, was that the late Viceroy undoubtedly gave a verbal order to Bravé to build him a couple of ships, but that the new Viceroy, having no desire to fulfil the contract, required some written evidence of his predecessor's order, which could not be produced. But the new Viceroy no more wanted trouble with an influential citizen of a great power than he wanted the ships and finally arranged to pay a considerable sum, 48 or £50,000 sterling, and to accept some 60,000,000 of francs in small coin which Bravé had also received a verbal order to manufacture for the late Viceroy on condition that he should hear no more about the ships. Nubar Pasha added that Bravé had told him that the Viceroy had promised to look at his ships if they came around in Egyptian waters, with a view of recommending them to the Sultan. Whether this was merely intended as a bluff on the part of Bravé or the beginning of an intrigue with Nubar Pasha remains to be ascertained, in which work the letter from the Viceroy's Minister annexed will furnish timely aid.

As soon as Mr. Thayer's health will permit he will doubtless make an official communication of these facts, if subsequent events give them sufficient importance.

Yours very truly

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS TO BIGELOW

London, 21 September, 1863.

Dear Sir:

Many thanks for yours of the 19th and the accompanying paper. The information you furnish is curious and valuable. M. Bravé has played a bold game—and come much nearer to success than I could have imagined possible. I am not yet, however, without anxiety about the vessels. The rebels are still busily at work on them, and I have reason to believe they

will not hear of selling. They relied so confidently on them as instruments to force a pacification, in the absence of every other resource, that they are very reluctant to give them up. On the other side of the water it must be admitted that their prospect is not bright.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, Sept. 14, 1863.

Dear Mr. Seward:

The Paris Correspondent of the *London Post* gave me the result of an interview he had with M. Drouyn de Lhuys a few days since to propound to him certain questions on behalf of the proprietor of the *Post* about Mexican affairs. The questions were:

1. Will the Archduke accept? and
2. Is there to be a Mexican loan?

To the first question the Minister replied that he probably would, that he and the Emperor were occupied with the subject constantly, that every difficulty that was raised the Emperor removed as fast as concession or power could do it, and it was clear that the Archduke was as much in earnest as the Emperor about the affair. It is proposed, said the Minister, to submit the question of Sovereignty to the Mexican people; if they accept the Archduke, as they probably will, the Emperor of France is to leave 25,000 men there until the Archduke's government is consolidated, which men are to be paid by Mexico after the 1st of January, 1864.

In regard to the second question he says that a loan was about to be put upon the market for from 20 to £25,000,000 sterling, for which application had already been made by English and French bankers. This loan was to be divided into three portions: the first to pay the creditors of England, France and Spain, the second to pay the expenses of the French expedition, and the third to be deposited in the Mexi-

can treasury to meet the needs of the Archduke in carrying on the government.

When Mr. Brown suggested some of the inevitable consequences of the French policy in Mexico and among other things a war with the U. S., the Minister replied that they had no trouble from that quarter to apprehend, that we were very much weakened and had as much on our hands as we could attend to. He said, when he took office the Mexican campaign was begun; he had nothing to do with its origin and he had simply carried out the wishes of the Emperor since that time; rather implying that he did not see the wisdom of the French expedition more clearly than most of his countrymen did. In regard to the loan, he professed to have no knowledge of the jobbing that was going on among the courtiers in pretended claims against Mexico, remarking, "I am not the financier."

These points, Brown tells me, he has given in a gingerly way in his correspondence.

There was a lively excitement produced at the Bourse on Saturday by a rumor that the Emperor had recognized the South. The agitation was so great that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had to have posters put up contradicting the report. No doubt the report was issued with a view of testing the effect of such a measure upon the public. If so, the inquirers seem to have received a prompt reply.

I have this day sent to you by post the evidence, or at least an abstract of the evidence, of the military and naval preparations making at Bordeaux, Nantes and Havre for the Confederates.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Sept. 29, 1863.

Dear Sir:

The paragraph in the *Moniteur* a few days since, stating that the responsibility for the foreign policy of the Empire

rested exclusively with the Emperor, is said to presage the transfer of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to some other sphere of usefulness. It is the Emperor's habit to use his ministers as the Jews of old used scapegoats; they fasten upon them the sins of the Administration and then send them into the Wilderness. The present foreign Minister went out of office previously as the representative of the peace party opposed to the Crimean war; Thouvenel went out as the exponent of the war policy which the Emperor could not maintain. Drouyn de Lhuys, who inaugurated the Division-of-America policy and the independence-of-Poland policy, is expected to take these blunders and the odor attaching thereunto off with him into the desert before long.[1]

Great efforts have been making by various parties, of which the Emperor is the most potential, to induce England to lead off in recognizing the new Empire of Mexico, but I am assured that she has replied that she wishes Mexico and the Archduke well, and if they can live in peace with the United States she will treat them as any other independent nation, but she will have no responsibility in any way whatever for any step that may lead to a war between Mexico or France and the United States.

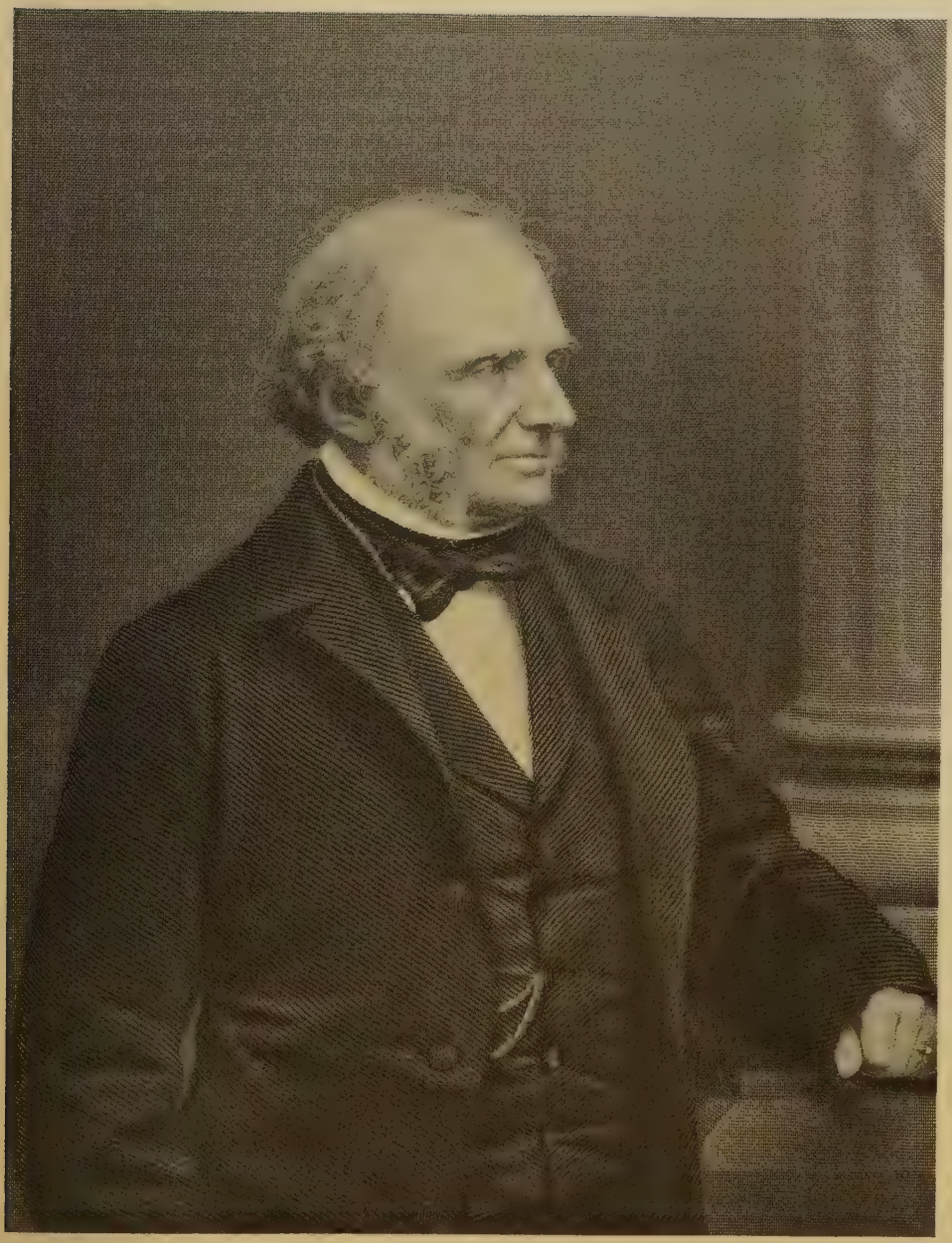
The recent speech of Earl Russell confirmed this story, which comes from a reliable quarter.

If we have good luck at home for the next two or three months I think our affairs will assume a very different and much more cheerful aspect.

I congratulate you and the President upon the result of the election in Maine. Similar results in New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania will have a prodigious moral effect here, especially with the Emperor, who knows how to appreciate the value of popular support *and the want of it* in conducting a war.

Yours very truly

[1] This did not actually occur until 1865, when the Emperor found himself obliged to abandon Mexico and Maximilian. Drouyn de Lhuys was then succeeded by Moustier.



A.D 1792 Lord John Russell A.D. 1878

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Sept. 22, 1863.

My dear Sir:

There is a reasonable prospect that the attention of European nations is destined soon to be diverted from the North American Continent. The long and extremely clever paper addressed to the Western powers and published, since the last post to the United States, is justly regarded here as the commencement of an era in European politics and as inaugurating a very grave modification of Russia's relations with the other States of Europe and especially with France. The press (official) is very reserved in its allusions to it, while the private judgment of it is, quite universally, that it will make the Emperor furious. Many think it will lead to a war, and all say a war would be certain to follow promptly but for the effect which an engagement of the French arms in Europe might have upon the government of the United States.

It is generally believed, however, that the Poles will be promptly recognized as belligerents, and as indicating the probability of such a step the appearance of Prince Czartoryski's address, which has been published this morning in the *Moniteur,* is referred to. This is quite as insulting, though not so effective, as the memorandum of the Russian Minister.

I can't but felicitate you upon the prospect of the Emperor of France having full employment on this side of the Atlantic for his military genius for some time to come.

It looks now as if his Majesty was going to follow in the footsteps of his uncle *to the end of his career.*[1]

Yours very truly

To understand the situation here referred to, I cannot do better than cite the following from the Mémoires of Horace de Viel-Castel, dated the 21st of April, 1863:

[1] I never before came so near to being a prophet.

Sensible men begin to be frightened at the régime of surprises and uncertainties under which we live. For some days it has become more and more certain that the Emperor is pushing Sweden against Russia, wishing to restore Poland. Polish Chauvinism is encouraged. Its national hymn is chanted with enthusiasm in the cafés, and the *Charivari* has *carte blanche* to caricature Russia.

Three notes from France, England and Austria have been within two days delivered to Prince Gortschakoff. All three, with different shades of energy, demand a sort of independence for Poland. Russia some days ago replied, in a note nearly identical with that of Spain, that "the Queen ought to know better than any one that the first duty of a sovereign is to repress seditions, crush revolutions, and guarantee the security of the people."

On the other hand, the Russian journals reprint with satisfaction the reply made by the Emperor Nicholas in 1831 to a Polish deputation: "I do not believe in your protestations, and I know by heart your eternal complaints; if I grant what you ask, you will use it against me; but take notice, if you renew your revolts I have not built the Citadel Alexander, which overlooks Warsaw, for nothing. Its guns will smash that city. I will raze it to the ground, and it shall never be rebuilt."

On the 10th of May following the same authority says:

The Emperor is less inclined to war. He has reflected, they say, and seeing no reliable allies for France, he has deferred the execution of the last projects which he is rolling over in his mind.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, Oct. 5, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

I thank you for your very interesting letter containing an account of your visit to M. Berryer. Your diligence in our matters is very highly appreciated. I feel quite sure that we shall go safely through our many complications.

Faithfully yours

GOVERNOR MORGAN TO BIGELOW

New York, September 15, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I am utterly at a loss to know how to make any adequate return for the labor you have performed for me of late in obtaining and sending so much valuable information in relation to the Hôtel des Invalides. While absent from the city some weeks since came that large and valuable French book (which I have not yet had time to read through), and yesterday I received your revised note of 17th August with the communication, which embraced precisely what I wished to learn. The latter I have read completely through. Then, again, I have to thank you for your proposal to aid in laying the foundation of the new edifice.

I am quite anxious to have the State of New York take the lead in providing for those who become permanently disabled in efforts to maintain the national life. I am still more anxious that what is done may be well done, and therefore, as we have nothing of the kind in this country, naturally look to those countries that have provided institutions of this kind for information, hoping to profit by their experiences. We have not commenced our subscriptions, but expect to do something during the next 60 days. The papers by this steamer will furnish some additional war news, and also some Election news. You will, I am sure, be cheered by both. Gilmore is doing well at Charleston, and Hamlin and others have done well in Maine. We are now looking to Pennsylvania and Ohio to follow suit, and then we will reverse matters in this state with a will; the government will be supported in every election that will take place this fall as it was defeated in almost all that took place last year. With kind remembrances to Mrs. Bigelow, I am,

Sincerely yours

B. MORAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN LONDON, TO BIGELOW

Private

My dear Bigelow:

Mr. Adams writes me as follows:

"Could not Mr. Dayton give orders to the *Kearsarge* to go out and catch the vessel (*Rappahannock*)? Pray suggest to Mr. Bigelow this idea. I suppose she must be at Brest. She might take the *Agrippina* too, if she should happen to meet with her."

Truly yours

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS TO BIGELOW

London, October 5, 1863.

My dear Sir:

Pardon me for not thanking you sooner for your note of the 28th ultimo. I shall try to avail myself of the information you are so kind as to send me.

Mr. Harcourt is "Historicus."[1] His address is William Vernon Harcourt, Esq., 4 Paper-buildings, E.C., London.

I presume I am to thank you for a French copy of Mr. Seward's Circular and a map.

We are enjoying an interval of repose just now. I am taking advantage of it to reform my household, which needed it badly enough. The excellence of English servants I have found an expensive illusion.

Very truly yours

[1] "Historicus" was the signature of a series of extremely able and timely papers about the wiser policy for England to pursue toward the United States in her domestic troubles, which are to be reckoned among the important agencies which prevented Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston from yielding further than they did to the wiles of the Emperor and striking hands with the Confederates.

COBDEN TO BIGELOW

Private

MIDHURST, 6 October, 1863.

My dear Sir:

In 1854, on the breaking out of the Crimean War, a communication was sent by England and France to the American government, expressing a confident hope that it would "in the spirit of just reciprocity give orders that no privateer under Russian colors shall be equipped, or *victualled,* or admitted with its prizes in the ports of the United States," etc. It has occurred to me to call your attention to this, although I dare say it has not escaped Mr. Dayton's recollection. But I should be curious to know what answer the French government would now make if its own former language was quoted against the course now being taken at Brest in repairing, and I suppose "victualling," the *Florida.* If the answer be that this vessel is not a "privateer," but a regularly commissioned ship of war, then I think the opportunity should not be lost to put on record a rejoinder to this argument showing the futility of the "declaration" of Paris against privateering,—for if a vessel sailing under one form of authority issued by Jefferson Davis and called a "Commission" can do all the mischief to your merchant vessels which another could do carrying another piece of paper called a "Letter of Marque," it is obvious that the renunciation of privateering by the Paris Congress is a mere empty phrase, and all the boasted gain to humanity is nothing but a delusion if not a hollow subterfuge. I think it might be well if Mr. Dayton were to take this opportunity of justifying the policy of the United States in refusing to be a party to the declaration of Paris unless private property at sea was exempt from capture by armed ships of *all kinds.* The argument would be valuable for reproduction at a future time when the question of belligerents' rights comes up again for discussion.

I have been reading carefully our friend Sumner's speech,

and although I do not say he is not justified in *feeling* all he says, yet I am inclined to ask, *cui bono?*—the saying of it now.

My wife joins me in kind regards to Mrs. Bigelow, and believe me,

Yours very truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, Oct. 9, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 22d September.

I wish that I could believe that, by any cause, our unhappy conflict might cease to engage the interest and intrigues of Europe. I do not yet think it as easy for European States to go to war with each other as it is to instigate and encourage our insurgents; but we will see.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

Paris, Oct. 9, 1863.

Dear Sir:

I hear from a gentleman, who had a long interview with M. Fould yesterday, that the Emperor is at loggerheads with his Minister of Finance about the Mexican loan. The Emperor insists upon the guaranty—I suppose he finds his chosen bankers cannot be persuaded to take it on other terms; while Fould says he cannot consent to saddle France not only with her own legitimate debts but with those due to England and Spain, to say nothing of a necessary *cadeau* of ten or twelve millions sterling for the new Mexican Emperor. He thinks a loan of 50 or 60 millions sterling even with the guaranty of France would not sell at much above 70 (the Italian loan sells

at 72), and to produce the required amount they would therefore have to become bound for from 70 to 80 millions, a burden which might seriously affect the credit of France. He says, and so stated to my informant, that he would never give his consent to such a guaranty and would leave office first—a step which the Emperor would hardly dare force him to, especially on such an issue.

. . . . . .

Mr. Robert J. Walker dined with the Slidells, who have returned to town, day before yesterday.

I sent you last week a French version of your last circular in regard to the progress and prospect of our Arms. That seemed the most effective mode of complying with the request contained in its closing paragraph. As I have no fund for the expense of such a publication, I was obliged to profit by the offer of a gentleman[1] who wished me to publish a French version of the North Carolina pronunciamento, partly at his expense, to put the documents together and distribute the expense among three or four Americans. . . . I have sent it to the members of the Corps Législatif and to as many other representative men as I could supply. M. Malespine, one of the writers on American subjects in the *Opinion Nationale,* translated and brought it out as his own affair. The Chart will appear in the *Monde Illustré* of this week, with an article from Malespine, where it will receive a circulation of some 10,000.

The *Correspondant,* a monthly review of high repute and one of the organs of the Legitimists, will contain very friendly articles on America, this and the succeeding month. Would it not be well to pay them the compliment of ordering the review to be sent to the State Department?

Yours very truly

The articles referred to in the *Correspondant* were written by Henri Moreau, a member of the French bar and holding confidential relations with M. Berryer. I was indebted for his acquaintance to the following note from M. de Witt, the son-in-law of M. Guizot. The reader will hear more of him later.

[1] This was the late —— Mason of Boston.

CORNELIS DE WITT TO BIGELOW

Au Val Richer, le 15 août 1863.

Monsieur:

Permettez-moi de vous recommander un de mes amis, Monsieur Moreau, qui prend un vif intérêt à la cause de l'Union et qui est disposé à la défendre dans le *Correspondant,* recueil Catholique et Libéral, dirigé par MM. A. de Broglie, de Falloux, de Montalembert et Cochin. M. Moreau est très intelligent et très discret. Vous pouvez, je crois, lui donner, utilement pour votre pays, les renseignements qu'il vous demandera.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'expression de mes considérations les plus distingués.

COBDEN TO BIGELOW

Private

Midhurst, 10 October, 1863.

My dear Sir:

The extract which I sent you was copied by me from a dispatch which was forwarded by our government to yours at Washington at the breaking out of the Crimean War. I took the extract from the original correspondence as presented to Parliament in, I think, 1855. If I were in London I could refer to the document, which is among the Parliamentary papers, and could be seen of course at the British Museum, or at some of the clubs where the Parliamentary papers are kept. If I were seeking for the dispatch at the library of the House of Commons, I should merely ask the librarian for the "Correspondence with America" for the time in question. I gave the extracts which I sent you in my speech in the House on the 24th April, and you will find it in Hansard, Vol. 170, page 731.

I there stated that the French government sent an identical dispatch at the same time to the United States government.

Of the fact of the British government having sent a dispatch containing the words quoted by me there is no doubt, and you will find the answer of the American government given in the same correspondence. The only point on which I should seek for confirmation, before alleging the fact in a diplomatic communication, though I have no doubt about it, is whether the French government sent an identical dispatch on the breaking out of the Crimean War. There could be no harm in Mr. Dayton speaking to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject incidentally when he next has an interview with him, and asking him to refresh his memory by reading their own dispatch and the answer of the American government.

I must own to a little surprise at finding so meager a collection of state papers in the archives of your European Missions. Considering the avalanches of *printed* matter on all public questions that issue from your press, and remembering that our parliamentary documents are sold as cheap almost as waste paper, there can surely be no excuse for not keeping on record every document having reference to the diplomatic relations of the two countries. Believe me

Yours truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, Oct. 15, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

I have your note of the 29th of September, and I shall look with much interest to the development of the prophecy it contains. There manifestly appears a change in the spirit of French dreams upon our affairs here.

What a dance our insurgent emissaries have led their European friends into. Would any European state appear now either less stable or less respectable if it had heeded our views and wishes so frankly communicated when the insurrection broke out? Had they all done so, how much suffering at home and abroad would have been spared?

The country seems to be determined to establish the fact that Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860 before it plunges into the election of a new one in 1864. Pennsylvania and Ohio comprehend this; New York is, I think, now very clear on the same point, although the city [of New York] seems not to apprehend her interest in the matter.

Faithfully yours

COBDEN TO BIGELOW

The pirate Maffitt writes to the Paris *Patrie* to say that he is not a pirate. He quotes Noël and Chapsal to prove that the *Florida* is not a privateer because she was not armed by private individuals. If not, then the British Government did it. Maffitt shifts the responsibility very cleverly, putting it where it belongs.

Midhurst, 17 October, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I cut the above from my last number of the *New York Evening Post.* Can you procure me a copy of the *Patrie* containing this letter of Captain Maffitt's?

Have you found the correspondence to which I referred? If not, perhaps I can help you. I am going to London on Tuesday and shall be for two or three days on a visit at my friend's, Wm. Leaf, Esq., Stratham Common, London, to which address write me by return of post if I can be of any use in the matter.

What I wish to see you do is to expose the utter futility, as an act of humanity or civilization, of abolishing privateering and leaving so-called government vessels of war to commit all the damage on merchant ships and cargoes which could be perpetrated in the worst days of privateering. I want this exposure to be made as an argument in favor of going the length proposed by Mr. Marcy and making private property exempt from capture by armed vessels of *every kind.*

Believe me,

Yours truly

WILLIAM S. THAYER TO NUBAR PACHA

PARIS, October 19, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I am informed that the Viceroy of Egypt has entered into or is negotiating a contract for the construction of one or more vessels of war to be built in France. If the request is a proper one, will you kindly inform me if this report is correct and in that case who is to have the contract when the vessel or vessels are to be built. I need hardly say to you that my motive in addressing these questions to you is not to gratify an idle curiosity.

Faithfully yours

S. E. NUBAR PACHA, etc., etc.

BIGELOW TO COBDEN

PARIS, Oct. 20, 1863.

My dear Mr. Cobden:

Enclosed please find the letter of Captain Maffitt to the *Patrie;* also the *Moniteur's* dicta in regard to his ship. If you should have no occasion to keep them I will thank you to return them in an envelope when you have done with them, as I keep a file of French papers relating to American affairs. If you have the remotest expectation of needing them *at any time hereafter,* I beg you will retain them, as I can replace them here without difficulty. I only ask that they come to me instead of going into the basket.

I wrote to Moran, the Assistant Secretary of our Legation in London, several days since, about the correspondence to which you had been so kind as to invite my attention, but as yet have received no tidings of it. Mr. Dayton has asked M. Drouyn de Lhuys about it, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys promised to make a search for it at once. He reminded Mr. Dayton that the correspondence must have been conducted by him, and, without recollecting anything about it, promised to stand faithfully to its doctrines.

I think Mr. Dayton is alive to the importance of that correspondence in the point of view from which you would have it treated, and I am not without hope that great good may come of it all around.

Mr. Dayton was to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs this afternoon, and if anything pertinent to the subject of your letter came of it that I can communicate, I will write you to-morrow.

Yours very sincerely

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, Oct. 23, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

What you wrote me about M. Fould and the guarantors (?) of Mexican loans is true. But I doubt his prescience—his wisdom is manifest.

I will look into the matter which Mr. Cobden suggested. In the meantime I hope Mr. Dayton has, without waiting for us, improved the time.

I am glad that you have put the Circular into French. If there is any balance of expense against you in this or in any such case, I will provide for it.

The *Correspondant* will be ordered for the Department.

Faithfully yours

WEED TO BIGELOW

Albany, Oct. 25, 1863.

My dear Friend:

We are checked just now, for the want of an army. An hundred thousand more good troops would put us through.

Fortunately the enemy is as weak, in this respect, as we are.

The recent abortive attempt upon Texas was instigated by

cotton speculators, though the government was humbugged. It should have been a movement on Mobile, whose starving inhabitants implore our protection.

Now that more than one gentleman at Washington has the Presidency "on the brain," God only knows what is to become of our country.

I suppose there was a good reason for relieving Rosecrans, but this perpetual "swapping of horses" has a discouraging effect.

No sort of effort is being made to cherish the Union sentiment in Louisiana, Mississippi or North Carolina. The two former could easily be brought back. Rebellion is effectually "crushed out" of Mississippi.

Copperhead Democracy meets the fate it invited and deserves. Its sympathy with and for Vallandigham tells the story.

We shall carry this state unless some adverse current sets in before the election.

Bowen, who returned to New Orleans yesterday, says that Louisiana might be cordially back in the Union before the 1st of January, if we would take her back as a state. But Chase, Sumner, etc., say that the seceded states must come back as territories. *Is it because their vote on the next presidential question is not wanted?*

There is, in my mind, but one way to get an army. That way I urged before the Emancipation Proclamation. It was, and is, first, to offer, by presidential pronunciamento, pardon and protection to all who, within a given day, return to their allegiance; and, next, to cut up and divide rebeldom in such manner as to give each soldier what is worth $1000, as a bounty for those who conquer it. This will send an army both to *conquer* and *cultivate* slave territory. But above all, that ends all *controversy* about slavery, while it also ends *slavery*.

Many thanks for your most interesting letter.

I had hoped to see you go to Rome as successor to Blatchford, but it was mortgaged to King.

Ever yours

P.S. I think that Farragut would have taken Charleston. They may prevent its being burned by Gilmore by exposing Union prisoners.

BIGELOW TO ELISÉE RECLUS

PARIS, Oct. 26, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I was rejoiced to see your pen again in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* where your article had attracted my attention before I received your note. You have made another large addition to the weight of obligation which every American feels or at least owes to you as well as to the *Revue* for what you and it together and separately have done to rectify the public opinion of Europe in regard to the troubles in America. I think the time will come when you will be proud of the part you have taken in this trouble.

The *Correspondant* of this month will have the commencement of an article on our affairs and strongly favorable to the North, from the pen of Henri Moreau, formerly Secretary of M. Berryer, whose sentiments as well as the sentiments of Montalembert the articles will express, to say nothing of the sentiments of the others connected with the management of the *Revue,* who are known to you by reputation at least.

The Imperial Government has withdrawn the authorisations granted certain parties in France for the construction and arming of certain vessels "for the Pacific and China seas" upon learning that they were intended for the Confederate States. That is a good symptom.

The Emperor will make a soothing speech about Mexico, I am assured.

Yours very truly

M. Reclus was about thirty years old when I made his acquaintance in Paris. He was the most violent reactionary against dynastic government that I had ever met. He later became a Socialist and finally a philosophic but not a criminal anarchist. He revolted against conventionalism of all kinds, and, to show his superiority to social prejudices, he married an African lady from Senegal.

He was really a man of high character and extraordinary intellectual activity. He was already a welcome contributor to the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* and not long after entered into a contract with the house of Hachette & Cie. for the work which was destined to be his monument—"La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle," which was published in twenty volumes between the years 1875 and 1894, and which, by the extent and harmony of its proportions, the exactness of its facts, the clearness of its statements, has won for him the admiration of the whole world. He took a lively interest in our troubles and by his pen in the French press placed us under frequent and substantial obligations.

BIGELOW TO SUMNER

Dear Sir:

I send you by this mail a French *refaciamento* of your timely and instructive speech at the Academy of Music. I found the resources at my command compelled me to abridge, and in doing so I availed myself of the best lights at my command to select the passages which might be omitted with least disadvantage for the readers in France. I hope you will approve of this selection. M. Malespine of the *Opinion Naticnale* has made the translation, and if you find time to drop him a line acknowledging his services, I think it would not be amiss. He has been a faithful and effective friend of ours from the commencement of the war and the only writer on American affairs for the press here who has never faltered in his republican faith.

The result of the elections thus far is very encouraging. It shows that public opinion has ripened a good deal during the past year. Another year's war will possibly fit the country North and South for a Republican form of Government.

Yours very truly

During my visit to M. Berryer at Augerville, and as I was about leaving, I laid on the table at which we were sitting 3000 francs in bills, saying to him at the same time that that was his professional retainer. He put up his hands and said, "No, no; this is a social, not a business visit." I remonstrated. He replied, "Il ne faut pas déclasser les choses." I was obliged to pocket my notes again.

Soon after my return to Paris I addressed a note to M. Moreau enclosing my retaining fee, asking him to make it acceptable to M. Berryer and to procure from him a receipt to serve as a voucher for my Government. At the same time I sent him a copy of the declaration of neutrality[1] for which M. Berryer asked.

In reply to this I received the following note:

HENRI MOREAU TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, 27th October, 1863.

Dear Sir:

I receive to-day a letter from M. Berryer which authorizes me to deliver to you the receipt which the rules of the Advocate's profession do not permit him to remit to you. All the same, we will understand each other as to the terms of this document.

M. Berryer tells me that he will be at home at six o'clock to-day. He wishes to carry with him your memoir to make his consultation at Augerville, but he is not yet gone. He charges me also to remind you that you have promised him the text of the declaration of January, 1861, relative to the neutrality of France and to the crimes and delinquencies which those who perpetrate them would commit.

I am happy to learn that M. Drouyn de Lhuys has also decided to give you satisfaction. You may therefore, as you remark with reason, proceed in all security. I do not send you

[1] For a copy of this declaration of neutrality see Bigelow's "France and the Confederate Navy" (Harper & Brothers, 1888), p. 20.

yet the number of the *Correspondant,* because I have not yet received it myself; but you may expect it before long. I suppose that the copy which I shall have pleasure in offering to you will soon reach me.

Accept, etc.

COBDEN TO BIGELOW

Private

MIDHURST, 29 October, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Here is a copy of the dispatch from which I quoted, and at the end you will find a reference to the Parliamentary papers in which it is printed.

It does not state that an identical copy of this communication was handed at the same time by the French Minister at Washington to Mr. Marcy, but I presume so, for you will observe that in the enclosed both governments are in some paragraphs represented, where the words "they" or "the allied governments" are used.

Were I in Mr. Dayton's situation I should assume from the terms of the enclosed that it spoke for both governments. (Probably if M. Drouyn de Lhuys is shown a copy of the enclosed it will refresh his memory and he may find a copy on his file.) I should thereon communicate in *writing* with the French government, and express my confident hope that they would not allow the *Florida* to be coaled or provisioned in direct violation of their own rule as laid down in this dispatch of 1854. If, in reply to this, M. Drouyn de Lhuys shelters himself under Captain Maffitt's plea that this is a regularly commissioned ship of war, then I should seize the opportunity of exposing the utter hollowness and delusiveness of that declaration against privateering at the Paris Congress in 1856. Here is a vessel, the *Florida,*[1] which has no other mission but

[1] We learn from Scharf's "History of the Confederate States Navy," published in 1887, that the *Florida* during her piratical career destroyed 44 merchant craft—8 brigs, 6 schooners, 13 ships, 16 barks and 1 steamer—representing on his estimate in value $3,107,407.

to capture and burn the peaceful merchant vessel, which came red-handed to Brest, having burnt a merchantman on her way from the coast of Ireland, which never intends to fulfil the noble mission of a ship of war in fair fight against another *armed* vessel, *but runs away* from every United States government vessel, and pounces only on the unarmed merchantman; yet this *Florida,* because her officers carry a "Commission" from Jefferson Davis instead of a "Letter of Marque," is to have her depredations condoned by a government which has taken credit for having abolished privateering! I hope, in the interest of humanity in the future (which is the ground on which I take so strong an interest in the matter), that Mr. Dayton will put on record a protest against the distinction which it is sought to draw between these commissioned vessels and privateers.

If you can find another copy of Captain Maffitt's letter I shall be glad to keep the one you have sent me.

Believe me,

Yours truly

MR. CRAMPTON TO MR. MARCY

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1854.

The undersigned, H. B. M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, has received orders from his government to make to the Secretary of State of the United States the following communication:

Her Majesty the Queen of the U. K. of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, being compelled to take up arms for the purpose of repelling the aggressions of the Emperor of Russia upon the Ottoman Empire, and being desirous to lessen as much as possible the disastrous consequences to commerce resulting from a state of warfare, their Majesties have resolved for the present not to authorize the issue of Letters of Marque.

In making this resolution known, they think it right to announce, at the same time, the principles upon which they will be guided during the course of this war with regard to the navigation and commerce of neutrals.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has accordingly published the accompanying declaration, which is identical with that published by His Majesty the Emperor of the French.

In thus restricting within the narrowest limits the exercise of their rights as belligerents, the allied governments confidently trust that the governments of countries which may remain neutral during the war will sincerely exert every effort to enforce upon their subjects or citizens the necessity of observing the strictest neutrality.

H. B. Majesty's government entertains the confident hope that the United States government will receive with satisfaction the announcement of the resolutions thus taken in common by the two allied governments, and that it will, in the spirit of reciprocity, *give orders that no privateer under Russian colors shall be equipped, or victualled, or admitted with its prizes in the ports of the United States,* and also that the citizens of the United States shall rigorously abstain from taking part in armaments of this nature, or in any other measure opposed to the duties of a strict neutrality.

The undersigned, etc., etc.

The above dispatch is to be found in "Papers relative to Recruiting in the United States," page 230, presented to Parliament in 1856.

A. DUDLEY MANN TO BENJAMIN

Rome, November 14, 1863.

Sir:

At three o'clock on the afternoon of yesterday I received a formal notification that His Holiness would favor me with Audience, embracing my Private Secretary, Mr. W. Grayson Mann, to-day at twelve o'clock.

I accordingly proceeded to the Vatican, sufficiently early to enable me to reach there fifteen minutes in advance of the designated hour. In five minutes afterwards—ten minutes prior to the appointed time—a message came from the Sovereign Pontiff that he was ready to receive me, and I was accordingly conducted into his presence.

His Holiness stated, after I had taken my stand near to his side,

that he had been so afflicted by the horrors of the war in America that many months ago he had written to the Archbishops at New Orleans and New York to use all the influence that they could properly employ for terminating, with as little delay as possible, the deplorable state of hostilities; that from the former he had received no answer; but that he had heard from the latter, and his communication was not such as to inspire hope that his ardent wishes would be speedily gratified.

I then remarked that "it is to a sense of profound gratitude of the Executive of the Confederate States and of my countrymen, for the earnest manifestation which your Holiness made in the appeal referred to, that I am indebted for the distinguished honor which I now enjoy. President Davis has appointed me special Envoy to convey in person to your Holiness this letter, which I trust you will receive in a similar spirit to that which animated its author."

Looking for a moment at the address and afterwards at the seal of the Letter, His Holiness took his scissors and cut the envelope. Upon opening it he observed: "I see it is in English—a language which I do not understand." I remarked: "If it will be agreeable to your Holiness, my Secretary will translate its contents to you." He replied: "I shall be pleased if he will do so." The translation was rendered in a slow, solemn, and emphatic pronunciation. During its progress I did not cease for an instant to carefully survey the features of the Sovereign Pontiff. A sweeter expression of pious affection, of tender benignity, never adorned the face of mortal man. No picture can adequately represent him when exclusively absorbed in Christian contemplation. Every sentence of the Letter appeared to sensibly affect him. At the conclusion of each, he would lay his hand down upon the desk and bow his head approvingly. When the passage was reached wherein the President states, in such sublime and affecting language, "We have offered up at the footstool of our Father who art in Heaven prayers inspired by the same feeling which animates your Holiness," his deep-sunken orbs, visibly moistened, were upturned towards that throne upon which ever sits the Prince of Peace, indicating that his heart was pleading for our deliverance from that causeless and merciless war which is prosecuted against us. The soul of infidelity—if indeed infidelity have a soul—would have melted in view of so sacred a spectacle.

The emotion occasioned by the translation was succeeded by a silence of some time. At length His Holiness asked whether President Davis was a Catholic. I answered in the negative. He then asked if I was one. I assured him that I was not.

His Holiness now stated, to use his own language, that "Lincoln & Co." had endeavored to create an impression abroad that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery and that it might be judicious in

us to consent to gradual emancipation. I replied that the subject of slavery was one over which the Government of the Confederate States, like that of the old United States, had no control whatever; that all ameliorations with regard to the institution must proceed from the States themselves, which were as Sovereign in their character, in this regard, as were France, Austria, or any other Continental power; that true philanthropy shuddered at the thought of a liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by "Lincoln & Co."; that such a procedure would be practically to convert the well-cared-for civilized negro into a semi-barbarian; that such of our slaves as had been captured or decoyed off by our enemy were in an incomparably worse condition than while they were in the service of their masters; that they wished to return to their old homes, the love of which was the strongest of their affections; that if, indeed, African Slavery were an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its sudden overthrow. His Holiness received these remarks with an approving expression. He then said that I had reason to be proud of the self-sacrificing devotion of my countrymen, from the beginning, to the cause for which they are contending. "The most ample reason," I replied; "and yet, scarcely so much as of my countrywomen, whose patriotism, whose sorrows and privations, whose transformation in many instances from luxury to penury, were unparalleled, and could not be adequately described by any living language." There they had been from the beginning, there they were still, more resolute, if possible, than ever—emulating in devotion, earthly though it was in its character, those holy female spirits who were the last at the Cross and the first at the Sepulchre. His Holiness received this statement with evident satisfaction, and then said: "I would like to do anything that can be effectively done, or that even promises good results, to aid in putting an end to this most terrible war, which is harming the good of all the earth, if I knew how to proceed."

I availed myself of this declaration to inform His Holiness that it was not the armies of Northern birth which the South was encountering in hostile array, but that it was the armies of European creation —occasioned by the Irish and Germans, chiefly the former, who were influenced to emigrate (by circulars from "Lincoln & Co." to their numerous agents abroad) ostensibly for the purpose of securing high wages, but in reality to fill up the constantly depleted ranks of our enemy; that those poor unfortunates were tempted by high bounties —amounting to five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred dollars —to enlist and take up arms against us; that once in the service they were invariably placed in the most exposed points of danger in the battle-field; that, in consequence thereof, an instance had occurred in

which an almost entire brigade had been left dead or wounded upon the ground; that but for the foreign recruits the North would most likely have broken down months ago in the absurd attempt to overpower the South.

His Holiness expressed his utter astonishment—repeatedly throwing up his hands—at the employment of such means against us, and the cruelty attendant upon such unscrupulous operations.

"But, your Holiness," said I, "'Lincoln & Co.' are even more wicked, if possible, in their ways than in decoying innocent Irishmen from their homes to be murdered in cold blood. Their champions—and would your Holiness believe it, unless it were authoritatively communicated to you?—their pulpit champions have boldly asserted this as a sentiment: 'Greek fire for the families and cities of the rebels, and Hell-fire for their chiefs.'" His Holiness was startled at this information and immediately observed, "Certainly no Catholic would reiterate so monstrous a sentiment." I replied, "Assuredly not. It finds a place exclusively in the heart of the fiendish vagrant buffoons whose number is legion and who impiously undertake to teach the doctrine of Christ for ulterior sinister purposes."

His Holiness now observed: "I will write a letter to President Davis and of such a character that it may be published for general perusal." I expressed my heartfelt gratification for the assertion of this purpose. He then remarked, half inquiringly: "You will remain here for several months." I, of course, could not do otherwise than answer in the affirmative. Turning to my Secretary, he asked several kind questions personal to himself, and bestowed upon him a handsome compliment. He then extended his hand, as a signal for the end of the audience, and I retired.

Thus terminated one of the most remarkable conferences that ever a foreign representative had with a potentate of the earth. And such a potentate! A potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race, and who is adored by that immense number as the Vicegerent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere.

How strikingly majestic the conduct of the Government of the Pontifical States in its bearing towards me when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which some of the Governments of western Europe have had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our commissioners! Here I was openly received at the Department of Foreign Affairs—openly received by an appointment at Court, in accordance with established usages and customs, and treated from beginning to end with a consideration which might be envied by the envoy of the oldest member of the family of nations.

The audience was of forty minutes' duration—an unusually long one.

I have written this despatch very hurriedly, and fear that it will barely be on time for the monthly steamer which goes off from Liverpool with the mail for the Bahama Islands next Saturday.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully, etc.

Considering how much space Mr. Mann devoted to the exposition of his own views in this interview, the compactness of his report of the wary old Pontiff's reply is disappointing. The envoy favors Mr. Benjamin with his own speech verbatim, but when it is the Pope's turn we are only told that the interviewer's speech was received "with an approving expression." That a smile at Mr. Mann's simplicity was a part of it may safely be assumed. The Italians are famous for their unwritten speech; for their inexhaustible store of shrugs, exclamations and gestures, which sometimes mean a great deal, but which cannot be parsed nor subjugated to the rules of grammar. It would not be strange if Mr. Mann, who had never been in Italy before, had failed to gather up all the fragments of meaning that had fallen from the Pontiff's lips with his "approving expression," as he certainly did misconceive the tenor and import of the Pope's written communication to Jefferson Davis, with which he had been intrusted. Nor did he seem to have duly weighed the import of his Holiness's inquiry whether *it might not be judicious* for the Confederates *to consent to gradual emancipation.*

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 15 November, 1863.

HON. J. P. BENJAMIN,
Secretary of State:

. . . . . .

I give you, in cipher, copy of a note which I addressed on the 6th instant to a high personage:

II

"The confident assertions of Agents of Washington Government and certain remarks made at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Marine lead undersigned to apprehend that, without consulting your Majesty, orders may be given that will interfere with the completion and armament of ships of war now being constructed at Bordeaux and Nantes for the Government of the Confederate States. The undersigned has the most entire confidence that your Majesty, being made aware of the possibility of such an interference, will take the necessary step to prevent it.

"The undersigned has no access to the Minister of Marine and does not feel authorized to state to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the circumstances under which the construction of these ships was commenced.

"He relies upon this reason to excuse the liberty which he has ventured to take in addressing himself directly to your Majesty on a subject in which are involved not only vital interests of the Government which he represents, but very grave and delicate personal responsibilities for himself.

"The undersigned tenders, etc., etc.

"(Signed) JOHN SLIDELL,
"Paris, 6th November, 1863."

On the following day I received a note from M. Drouyn de Lhuys requesting me to call on him on the 9th instant. As I anticipated, he wished to see me on the subject of my note of the 6th instant, which had been handed to him. He at once entered upon it and seemed at first disposed to take rather a high tone, saying that what had passed with the Emperor was confidential; that France could not be forced into a war by indirection; that when prepared to act it would be openly, and that peace with the North would not be jeopardized on an accessory and unimportant point such as the building of one or two vessels; and that France was bound by the declaration of neutrality.

I then gave him a detailed history of the affairs, showing him that the idea originated with the Emperor and was carried out not only with his knowledge and approbation, but at his invitation; that it was so far confidential that it was not to be communicated but to a few necessary persons; but could not deprive me of the right of invoking, as I did, an adherence to promises which had been given long after the declaration of neutrality. I spoke very calmly but very decidedly; the Minister's tone changed completely, and I *took leave of him satisfied* that the *builders* would not be interfered with.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 19 November, 1863.

Sir:

. . . . . .

The agents and emissaries of the Washington Government, not satisfied with the establishment of a vast organized system of espionage and the subornation of perjured informers, now unblushingly have recourse to theft and forgery to attain their ends. Mr. Dayton asserts that he has in his possession letters and other documents showing that certain vessels now being constructed at Bordeaux and Nantes belong to the Confederate States. A confidential clerk of the builders at Nantes has absconded, carrying off documents of which he was the custodian, and which in some respects correspond with the papers of which Mr. Dayton has deposited with the Minister of Foreign Affairs what he asserts to be true copies of originals. If he in truth have any such originals, he knows by whom and how they were stolen, and was doubtless an accessory as well before as after the fact.

The faithless clerk must have been heavily bribed, for he abandoned an eligible situation which was his only means of support; he is an intelligent, well-educated man, having, it is said, always borne a good character, and is now a fugitive from justice for a crime which would consign him, if arrested, to the galleys.

The builders say that the pretended copies of papers stolen from them and deposited with the Minister of Foreign Affairs contain interpolated matter, thus adding forgery to theft. Mr. Dayton has also furnished copies of letters and other papers which were stolen from Captain M. F. Maury. A letter which I addressed to Captain Sinclair at Glasgow was never received by him, and must have been intercepted by Federal emissaries. The post-office in France is, I think, above suspicion, and the theft must have been perpetrated on the other side of the Channel.

I mention these facts as well because of their tending to explain certain matters to which I have heretofore alluded as that the greatest caution may be exercised in the correspondence of our government with its agents abroad.

With the greatest respect, etc.

See dispatch 32, April 20, 1863, for intercepted dispatch from Adams to Dayton.

BIGELOW TO DAYTON

London, November 20, 1863.

Dear Sir:

I have sent you by the bearer the copy of a letter from John Slidell, *soi-disant* agent of the Confederate States of America, by which he makes himself a direct party to the contract for the construction of armed steamers for the Confederate States at Bordeaux and Nantes. Of the genuineness of this letter I shall be able to furnish you with the most satisfactory proof when I return to Paris, if you should have any need of it. This is the letter referred to in the first paragraph of the contract between Jollet & Babin and Dubigeon fils of the one part and Captain Bullock of the other, the original of which is already in your possession, and it was this letter which caused the resumption of the work on the ships, which, as you will see by the correspondence in your possession, was for a time suspended.

I submit to you *the propriety* of bringing the complicity of Mr. Slidell in this business to the notice of the Imperial Government.

Yours very respectfully

GEORGE D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

Private

Irvington, Nov. 24, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I have been to Washington and will give you some truths which you may believe, but can call gossip. Mr. Chase is bidding high for the nomination, and Mr. Seward is working against him by working for Lincoln,—and though the future may bring forward General Grant or Banks, Lincoln's chance is far the most hopeful now. Blair is outspoken on all occasions and for the next term. Stanton, who was with Chase,

is now more under the control of Seward, who, it is thought, does not want much more fighting. Seward's position with the President is about as strong as ever, and Blair has a large influence with the President. Blair denounces Stanton outside, and does not speak to him or to Mr. Chase. This administration is more departmental than any before it. Some of our friends have less confidence in Halleck than they had in McClellan. The President is dying for a battle and spends most of his time at the War Department. The political victories this fall have been so signal that every one seems confident and hopeful, and the opinion is almost universal here that the rebels are hungry and very tired of the war. I will not undertake to explain why we do not fight at Chattanooga, at the Rapidan, and take Charleston. I could not if I would, I would not if I could. I am disgusted, but yet I can see we are making progress towards the great end of the Rebellion.

Ever yours

DAYTON TO BIGELOW

PARIS, November 30, 1863.

My dear Sir:

The only protest I intended to indicate to our Consular agent at Calais in the case of the *Rappahannock* was general in its character, as I then knew little or nothing of the facts. I have heretofore in each case (the *Florida* and the *Georgia*) protested against all aid or accommodation to be given, etc., and I *have done the same thing in the case of the Rappahannock.* I have taken this course so that the French government may not, at a future day, deny that its attention was specially directed to the neglect. The protest by our Consul, therefore, is probably unimportant.

Upon what ground can we apply to this government to *detain* the vessel? The English government, from which she has escaped, might perhaps make such application with a fair prospect of success. I shall certainly protest *against the finishing of this vessel* in the harbor of Calais. If she is built

in England to be armed in the open sea, how can *we* call on the authorities of France to confiscate her?

I have at once communicated the facts to the Captain of the *Kearsarge*: The *Florida* is all ready to leave; she waits only a crew and has recently been engaged in shipping one at Bordeaux and Nantes. She had 26 men shipped on 10th of this month.

The *Kearsarge* means to go out of port before her.

Yours truly

It was on the 19th of November, 1863, that President Lincoln gave an illustration of the difference between oratory and inspiration, the echoes of which are still heard throughout the world. It was at the consecration of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, and on the platform from which Edward Everett had just retired amid storms of applause after delivering an address which has taken its place among American classics. The speech which follows was one of the most momentous incidents in the history of our Civil War. It may be doubted whether anything had then or has since been said of that national strife conceived upon a higher and wiser spiritual plane.

LINCOLN'S SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG

Fourscore and seven years ago [spoke the President] our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they

who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us,—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

WEED TO BIGELOW

New York, December 1. 1863.

My dear Friend:

I find a letter to you which, instead of going to the Post Office, has remained in a coat pocket over a month! It was of not much value when written, and is of less now, but I send it that you may see that you are in my thoughts.

The army has been unexpectedly at work—has done good work, and promises even better results.

Congress is to assemble, in what spirit I know not. Colfax will be speaker. Mr. Chase is running for President, and must, ere long, come in collision with Mr. Lincoln, who will, *nolens volens,* become a candidate.

I last week presented my programme—alluded to in the blue sheet—to the President. It would end the war, with the evil that occasioned it, re-establishing the government and restoring the Union.

Mr. Lincoln approved it, decidedly—sent for Mr. Stanton, who adopted it with emphasis. But there it rests, for Mr. Chase will oppose it.

The democracy, floored everywhere, can be made loyal, Vallandigham, Wood, etc., etc., of course excluded.

Rosecrans was relieved for sufficient reasons.

Farragut would have taken Charleston long ago if the government had sent him there.

This is our first cold day. City election progresses. Boole to be mayor.[1]

Truly yours

[1] C. Godfrey Gunther was Mayor of New York for the years 1864–66, having defeated F. I. A. Boole, the Tammany candidate, by 7000 votes.

COBDEN TO BIGELOW

MIDHURST, 3 Dec. 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

My wife and I are very happy to hear of the well-doing of Mrs. Bigelow after making an addition to your family in a foreign land. We shall be very proud to claim the young lady as our fellow-countrywoman. We wish heartily the welfare of Mother and Child.

There seems to be a fatality about these Confederate privateers. I feel convinced that our government is in earnest in wishing to thwart the efforts of Southern agents. Why have not your government a swift steamer or two in these latitudes to pounce on such half-fledged birds of prey? Are your Naval men all too busy looking after prizes at home among the blockade runners?

I wish we could hear of more decided successes on your side in the campaign on land. It would help us very much to fight your battles in the House of Commons when Parliament meets, if in the meantime you could beat the enemy in the field. When a deputation of Free-traders, who had formed an association in Paris during the reign of Louis Philippe to do battle with the Protectionists, waited on M. Guizot to ask him, as the head of the ministry, to espouse their cause, he dismissed them with this assurance: "Soyez fort et nous vous protégerons." My daughter begs me to thank you for the Confederate "Shin plasters."

And believe me

Very truly yours

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 3 December, 1863.

Sir:

. . . . . .

Mr. Mann will have given you an account of his friendly reception by the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli. He wrote to me that instructions

Archduke Maximilian's Palace at Miramar

had been sent to the Nuncio at this court for the issuing of passports to our citizens.

I, in consequence, called on the Nuncio by appointment on Monday last, but he had not then heard from the Cardinal on the subject. I sent you, via Bermuda, accompanied by a private note, a letter addressed to the President by J. de Haviland, a person whom you have frequently seen at Washington. As the letter may miscarry, I give you an extract from one to me, dated Trieste, 7 Nov., which will explain its purport:

"Having recently been honored with an invitation to Miramar, the palace of H. I. H. the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, the conditional Emperor of Mexico, he yesterday favored me with a long private interview during which H. I. H. expressed the warmest possible interest in the success of the Confederate cause. He said that he considered it identical with that of the new Mexican Empire—in fact, so inseparable that an acknowledgment of the Confederate States of America by the Governments of England and France should take place before his acceptance of the Mexican crown became unconditional; that he was particularly desirous that his sentiments upon this subject should be known to the Confederate President and to the Statesmen and leading minds of the Confederacy, and authorized me confidentially to communicate these views and sentiments to President Davis and to you, sir, and also to make known to both of you the solicitude with which he was watching the present movements of the Confederate army. In conformity with his wishes I have communicated these sentiments and views of H. I. H. in the accompanying letter to President Davis, which I beg you, sir, to favor me by transmitting at the earliest possible moment."

As my previous knowledge of the writer of this letter had not impressed me favorably, and as I have heard besides of certain circumstances which justified the suspicion that he was a Yankee emissary, I declined entering into the correspondence which he strongly solicited, and instructed Mr. Eustis to make an acknowledgment of the receipt of his letter and to say that I would confer upon its subject with M. Gutierrez de Estrada, to whom he referred for information "as to his visit to the Archduke or the nature of his intercourse with H. I. H." I accordingly saw M. Gutierrez, who confirmed the writer's assertions as to his relations with the Archduke, having himself introduced him. He also expressed his belief that the writer had been authorized to make the communications he did. I allowed M. Gutierrez, at his request, to take a copy of the letter that he might send it to Miramar, authorizing him to state confidentially the suspicions I entertain of the writer and to hint the propriety of employing some other channel of communication. I have just received a note from M. Gutierrez saying that he had not yet received a reply from Miramar. The letter

from Trieste, although dated 7 November, did not reach me until the 17th.

My friend at the foreign office confirms what is said of the value that the Archduke attaches to our recognition. He has seen the paper in which the Archduke set forth the different measures which he considers essential to the successful establishment of his Government; the recognition of the Confederacy headed the list. I sent to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, while he was on a visit at Compiègne, a copy of the Trieste letter. Some of the French papers, alluding to rumors in circulation, deny that the Archduke insists upon the recognition of the Confederacy and speak of his acceptance of the Mexican crown as certain. For myself, in the present condition of affairs I consider it very doubtful.

I have the honor to be, etc.

DAYTON TO BIGELOW[1]

PARIS, December 7, 1863.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I should have written to you yesterday or day before had it not been for a severe attack of my old enemy—the headache, which has kept me in bed. My last note to you was directed to the care of the Legation, where I presume you found it.

I called the attention of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the complicity of Slidell in those illegal constructions at Bordeaux and Nantes, and informed him that work had been re-commenced on the vessels at his instance. I told him, furthermore, that altho' I confided entirely in the French government, yet I had not the slightest confidence in Arman, Slidell, or indeed any one of that *ilk;* that I was unwilling to take the risk of the completion of these vessels and the chances of their getting to sea, etc., etc. He did not seem surprised at all, but manifested no disposition to prosecute. He said Slidell assumed a very dangerous responsibility. He said both Arman and Voruz had been to see him and were distinctly assured they would not be permitted to go on with the work unless upon the *clearest evidence* that the vessels had been sold *bona fide* to *some other government.* He said Arman was willing to sell and, I believe,

[1] While detained for a few weeks in London.

said he was already in negotiations for a sale to Prussia and probably to some other government. When I complained that work had re-commenced without such sale, he said he would refer it at once to the Minister of Marine. As to instituting a suit *at present,* I do not like to do it. I asked Mr. S. what he thought of it, and although acknowledging the receipt of my dispatches, he gives me no answer, and I have had too many evidences of a disposition to find fault, to make it agreeable for me to act without instructions; still I shall do it if it becomes necessary.

Captain Winslow of the United States ship *Kearsarge,* at Brest, writes to know if your information as to the rendezvous of the *Rappahannock* and her consorts at the Azores is *perfectly reliable.* He thinks it very important if so.

My regards to Mrs. Bigelow and the Miss B., junior. When will you be back?

Yours truly

A. DUDLEY MANN TO BENJAMIN

ROME, December 9, 1863.

Sir:

The Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, officially transmitted to me yesterday the answer of the Pope to the President.

In the very direction of this communication there is a positive recognition of our Government.

It is addressed "to the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America."

Thus we are acknowledged, by as high an authority as this world contains, to be an independent Power of the earth.

I congratulate you, I congratulate the President, I congratulate his Cabinet, in short, I congratulate all my true-hearted countrymen and countrywomen, upon this benign event. The hand of the Lord has been in it, and eternal glory and praise be to His Holy and Righteous name.

The document is in the Latin language, as are all documents prepared by the Pope. I cannot incur the risk of its capture at sea, and therefore I shall retain it until I can convey it, with entire certainty, to the President. It will adorn the archives of our country in all coming time.

I expect to receive a copy of it in time for transmission by the steamer which carries this (via New York) to Nassau.

I shall leave here by the 15th inst., and will proceed to Paris and from thence to Brussels and London.

The example of the Sovereign Pontiff, if I am not much mistaken, will exercise a salutary influence upon both the Catholic and Protestant governments of Western Europe. Humanity will be aroused everywhere to the importance of its early emulation.

I have studiously endeavored to prevent the appearance of any telegraphic or other communications, in the newspapers, in relation to my mission. The nature of it, however, is generally known in official circles here, and it has been mentioned in one or more journals.

The letters, in my opinion, ought to be officially published at Richmond, under a call for the correspondence by the one or the other branch of Congress. In the meantime, I shall communicate to the European Press, probably through the *London Times,* the substance of those letters.

I regard such a procedure as of primary importance in view of the interests of peace, and I am quite sure that the Holy Father would rejoice at seeing those interests benefited in this or any other effective manner.

I have the honor to be, etc.

A. DUDLEY MANN TO BENJAMIN

ROME, December 12, 1863.

Sir:

Herewith I have the honor to transmit the copy sent to me yesterday of the original, in Latin, of the Letter of the Sovereign Pontiff to President Davis. I have taken a duplicate of it. A period of more than a week elapsed between the date of the Letter and the delivery of the copy.

I shall repair to Paris immediately, where, after conferring with Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason (from each of whom I have just received the kindest of letters), I shall proceed to Brussels. After a stay there of a day or two, I shall go to London. The Christmas season will be a propitious period for exciting the sympathies of the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope. The people of England are never better at heart than during the joyous anniversary of the birth of Him whose cause was "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

Strange to say, a recent number of the *Court Journal* of London contains one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of His Holiness.

I have the honor to be, etc.

PIUS P. P. IX. TO JEFFERSON DAVIS

Illustrious and Honorable Sir, greeting:

We have lately received with all kindness, as was meet, the gentlemen sent by your Excellency to present to us your letter dated on the 23d of last September. We have received, certainly, no small pleasure in learning both from these gentlemen and from your letter the feelings of gratification and a very warm appreciation with which you, illustrious and honorable Sir, were moved when you first had knowledge of our letters written in October of the preceding year to the Venerable Brethren, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans, in which we again and again urged and exhorted those Venerable Brethren that because of their exemplary piety and episcopal zeal they should employ the most earnest efforts, in our name also, in order that the fatal civil war which had arisen in the States should end, and that the people of America might again enjoy mutual peace and concord, and love each other with mutual charity. And it has been very gratifying to us to recognize, illustrious Sir, that you and your people are animated by the same desire for peace and tranquillity which we had so earnestly inculcated in our aforesaid letter to the Venerable Brethren above named. Oh! that the other people also of the States and their rulers, considering seriously how cruel and how deplorable is this intestine war, would receive and embrace the councils of peace and tranquillity. We indeed shall not cease with most fervent prayers to beseech God, the Best and Highest, and to implore Him to pour out the spirit of Christian love and peace upon all the people of America, and to rescue them from the great calamities with which they are afflicted. And we also pray the same most merciful Lord that He will illumine your Excellency with the light of His divine grace, and unite you with ourselves in perfect charity.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the 3d December, 1863, in the eighteenth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS P. P. IX.

WEED TO BIGELOW

ALBANY, December 13, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

. . . . . .

Well! You will have read the Message. It dooms us to another year of war—indeed, to a war of indefinite length, if this policy and an incapable Cabinet remain.

Pardon what you cannot but regard as presumption—though if I had you for twenty minutes we should agree—when I say that this rebellion might be ended and the Union restored (in great strength) in six months.

My plan, emasculated by the message and proclamation. It is what Cooley said of Seymour's message in reference to the enlargement of the Canal, "scratching the sides and tickling the bottom."

Rebeldom is in almost a despairing condition. The masses are weary of rebellion, and, with encouragement, would rise against the Confederate government. But instead of striking boldly a blow which ends slavery and the rebellion, the Administration goes on its willy-nilly way.

The President lacks the pluck to send Farragut to Charleston, where Gilmore is doing *his* part nobly.

It is worse than a fault—it is a crime—to keep that old imbecile [Welles] at the head of the Navy Department.

This rebellion has cost twice as much blood and treasure as were necessary. And what is worse, it leaves a fearful army of young men to drag out their days without arms and legs. This spectacle encountered everywhere is most distressing. What angers me is that all these horrors—incident, in a degree, to all wars—are *aggravated* by the blunders of an incompetent administration.

Mr. Chase's report is very able, and his huge banking machine will make him strong. But how pitiable it is to know that his eye is single—not to the welfare of his country, in an unselfish cause, but to the presidency!

Mr. Lincoln says that he is "trying to keep that maggot out of his head," but he cannot.

Ever very truly yours

As Mr. Lincoln's biographers have properly stated, it was in accordance with the dictates of a wise expediency, but also in harmony with the established traditions of the government, that in dealing with the French invasion of Mexico he had contented himself

with a firm repetition of the views and principles held by the United States in relation to foreign invasion, and abstained from protests

which would have been futile and ridiculous. In his message of December, 1863, at the opening of Congress, he entered into no discussion of the subject. This occasioned a great disappointment among some of the more ardent spirits in Congress, and on the 11th of January Mr. McDougall of California introduced into the Senate a resolution declaring that "the occupation of a portion of the territory of the republic of Mexico by the armed forces of the Government of France is an act unfriendly to the republic of the United States of America"; that it was the duty of the American Government to demand of France to withdraw its armed force from the Mexican territory within a reasonable time, and that failing this, "on or before the 15th day of March next it will become the duty of the Congress of the United States of America to declare war against the Government of France."

Just one year before this, Mr. McDougall had introduced a set of resolutions of like purport, which had been laid on the table on motion of Senator Sumner. A similar fate awaited these belligerent propositions. They were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, then, as before, under the judicious chairmanship of Mr. Sumner, and were not again reported to the Senate.

But the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of Henry Winter Davis of Maryland,

reported the following resolution, which was passed by an affirmative vote of 109, not a voice being raised against it:

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the republic of Mexico; and that they therefore think fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical government, erected on the ruins of any republican government in America, under the auspices of any European power."

On arriving at the Senate this resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where, in company with the more fiery utterances of Mr. McDougall, it slept unreported until the close of the session.[1]

[1] Nicolay and Hay's Life of Lincoln.

SUMNER TO BIGELOW

SENATE CHAMBER, 15th Dec. 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

You were kind in writing to me; and I assure you I was glad to hear from you.

Mr. Hunter likes your letters to the Department very much, and always speaks of them as particularly interesting.

I hope M. Malespine has received my acknowledgment of his pamphlet, which presented the practical question in a most satisfactory form.

Garrett Davis is now making one of his never-ending speeches on the "negro question"—such as slave-drivers are always so prompt to make, while they charge Abolitionists with bringing forward the question. But there will not be many more such speeches. They are dying out.

Congress is tranquil. Never before since I have been a member has there been so little solicitude. The administration and everybody connected with it are sure of the result. There are no doubters. Thank God! This Republic is saved.

But I am not sanguine that the war will end very soon. I am sure only that it must end in the suffering of the rebels, and the extinction of slavery. This is enough.

"Visions of glory, spare my aching sight!"

I shall always be glad to hear from you and shall value any hints which you can give me.

Ever sincerely yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 17, 1863.

My dear Bigelow:

I duly received your letter of the 27th, written at London.

It is a very awkward thing doubtless for the maritime pow-

ers to retrace their steps in regard to the insurgents. But the necessity for it increases every day. Canada will become a care if it is not done, and a border controversy what power could control? I am instructing Mr. Dayton earnestly on the subject.

I like M. Moreau's Articles very much, and I wish that they may be printed. Mr. Evarts will go out to London and Paris on the 30th. I wish that your French may be put at his service, to talk with the lawyers and statesmen of France under the patronage of Mr. Dayton.

Faithfully yours

While detained for a few weeks in London in the winter of 1863, in consequence of an illness in my family, Mr. Moran, the secretary of legation in London, informed me of some Confederate privateers fitting out somewhere in England, which, he suggested, I should bring to the attention of Captain Winslow, then cruising in French waters. I did so promptly and recommended the captain to place himself in communication with our legation in London or with Mr. Adams.

CAPTAIN JOHN A. WINSLOW TO BIGELOW

Brest, France, December 19, 1863.

Sir:

Your letter of the 3rd inst. was answered, with full communications on the subject, as requested by you, addressed to Mr. Adams. In reply Mr. Adams says he was not aware of having written me, as, the ship I was in being stationed in France, he could scarcely do so, except through Mr. Dayton. I have written to disabuse his mind of the impression, as our stations extend all over the coast of Europe.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

The following paragraph appeared in the editorial columns of the *London Times* on the 26th of November, 1863, in a commentary on the speeches made by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright at Rochdale on the 24th:

> This language, so often repeated and so calculated to excite discontent among the poor and half informed, *has really only one intelligible meaning:* reduce the electoral franchise, for, when you have done so, you will obtain an assembly which will seize on the estates of the proprietors of land and *divide them gratuitously among the poor. . . .* It may be right to reduce the franchise, but certainly not as a step to spoliation.

On the 4th of December the leading article of the *Times* contained the following:

> Then, though a small state may have something to lose by change, it has usually more to gain; and so it comes to pass that it looks upon any attempt to reconstruct the map or reform the institutions of Europe with something of that satisfaction with which the poor might regard *Mr. Bright's proposition for a division among them of the lands of the rich,* or the Roman plebeians might hang on the lips of Gracchus when he rose to expound to them his last plan for a new colony, with large grants of land to every citizen who should join it.

In a letter addressed to the *Times,* Mr. Cobden denounced as a groundless and gratuitous falsehood the statement that he or Mr. Bright had advocated a division of the lands of the rich among the poor:

> A tone of preëminent unscrupulousness in the discussion of political questions [he added], a contempt for the rights and feelings of others, and a shameless disregard of the claims of consistency on the part of its writers have long been recognized as the distinguishing characteristics of the *Times* and placed it in marked contrast with the rest of the periodical press, including the penny journals of the metropolis and the provinces. Its writers are, I believe, betrayed into this tone mainly by their reliance on the shield of an impenetrable secrecy. . . .
>
> They who associate in the higher political circles of the metropolis know that the chief editor and manager of the *Times,* while still maintaining a strict incognito toward the public, drops the mask with very sufficient reasons in the presence of those powerful classes who are at once the dispensers of social distinction and (on which I might have something to say) of the patronage of the Government. We all know the man whose fortune is derived from the *Times;* we know its man-

ager; its only avowed and responsible editor—he of the semi-official correspondence with Sir Charles Napier in the *Baltic*—through whose hands, though he never pen a line himself, every slander in its leaders must pass—is as well known to us as the chief official at the Home Office. Now the question is forced on us, whether we who are behind the scenes are not bound, in the interests of the uninitiated public and as the only certain mode of abating such outrages as this, to lift the veil and dispel the illusion by which the *Times* is enabled to pursue this game of secrecy to the public and servility to the Government—a game (I purposely use the word) which secures for its connections the corrupt advantages, while denying to the public its own boasted benefits, of the anonymous system.

It will be well for public men to decide, each in his own case (for myself, I have no doubt on the subject), whether, in response to such attacks as these, they will continue to treat the *Times* as an impersonal myth; or whether, on the contrary, they will, in future, summon the responsible editor, manager, or proprietor to the bar of public opinion, and hold him up by name to the obloquy which awaits the traducer and calumniator in every walk of political and social life.

This letter was refused insertion in the *Times*. Its editor, in a reply to Mr. Cobden, "declines to permit the *Times* to be made the means of disseminating imputations which he knows to be unfounded and which are entirely irrelevant to the question at issue."

On the 9th of December, Mr. Cobden, rejoining to this, addressed Mr. Delane in person:

Sir, you and I have long been personally acquainted; your handwriting is known to me, and I know you to be the Chief Editor of the *Times*. Under such circumstances I cannot allow you to suppress your individuality and shield yourself under the third person of the editorial nominative in a correspondence affecting your personal responsibility for a scandalous aspersion on myself as well as on Mr. Bright.

Mr. Cobden's motive in addressing his rejoinder to Mr. Delane, the managing editor of the *Times*, instead of addressing it to the Editor of the *Times* was, as he affirmed, ostensibly "to lift the veil and dispel the illusion by which the *Times* is enabled to pursue this game of secrecy to the public and servility to the Government."

But this was not Mr. Cobden's only motive. He was flying for higher game than Mr. Delane, as I subsequently learned from his own lips. Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times*,

was ambitious of the peerage, and Mr. Delane was then enjoying the exceptional distinction among journalists in England of being the welcome guest at Lady Palmerston's receptions. At a moment when every prospect was pleasing to Mr. Walter, this quarrel with Mr. Cobden, whom Palmerston was anxious to conciliate, was most inopportune. Mr. Cobden's letter of the 9th of December proved to have been well aimed, for Mr. Delane was compelled, for the first time in the history of that journal, to drop the editorial mask and "come out in the open."

. . . It is quite true, as you say [he replied], that we have been long personally acquainted. You had no need to identify my handwriting. I have no desire to "suppress my individuality," or to deny my personal responsibility for what you are pleased to call "scandalous aspersions" upon yourself and Mr. Bright. You have thus all that individuality which in your letter to the Editor of the *Times* you professed to desiderate, and from which you anticipated such momentous consequences. You will therefore have no difficulty in rendering me responsible to the verdict either of a court of law or of the general body of our countrymen, and I shall cheerfully accept their decision.

In this letter Mr. Delane repeats the statement that certain passages in the speeches of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright will, in his opinion, bear no other interpretation than that ascribed to them.

On the 14th of December Mr. Cobden rejoins:

This is a grave accusation. I am told that, if proved, it would bring Mr. Bright and myself within the provisions of the Act 57th Geo. III. cap. 19, and render us liable to the penal consequences of transportation for seven years. I will not believe that you can be so wanting in the respect due to others, as well as yourself, as to have addressed this accusation to me, unless with the belief that you have evidence to substantiate it.

I call on you to give me those "certain passages" to which you refer, and which are really now the only question at issue between you and me. That there may be no excuse or ground for delay, I accept the report which appeared in your paper as an accurate version of my speech. . . .

Before giving the passage I will say a few words, which, although I do not in the slightest degree claim for them the character of evidence, may have interest in some quarters.

It is known that I am not in the habit of writing a word beforehand of what I speak in public. Like other speakers, practice has given me as perfect self-possession in the presence of an audience as if I were writing in my closet. Now, my ever-constant and overruling thought while addressing a public meeting, the one necessity which long experience of the arts of controversialists has impressed on my mind, is to avoid the possibility of being misrepresented, and prevent my opponents from raising a false issue—a trick of logic as old as the time of Aristotle. If I have, as some favorable critics are pleased to think, sometimes spoken with clearness, it is more owing to this ever-present fear of misrepresentation than any other cause:—it is thus that the most noxious things in life may have their uses. When, in my speech at Rochdale, I came to touch upon the subject of the land, the thought instantly flashed upon me—and none but the public speaker knows with what velocity thoughts move when in the presence of four thousand listeners—that I was dealing with a question about which there is a superstition in England, unknown elsewhere, and that the enemy would raise the cry of Agrarianism against me, and hence my denunciation of agrarian outrage, which will be found in the following extract. Had I been inspired with the faculty of second sight, and seen the Editor of the *Times* sitting bodily penning his criticism on my speech, I could not have more completely refuted and confounded in anticipation the charge now brought against me.

After giving the extract from his speech, Mr. Cobden says:

I will repeat the assumption that you could not have made this grave charge without believing it to have been founded in truth; that after alluding to "certain passages" you thought them to exist. I call on you to produce them in the specific form in which you would feel bound to establish your charges before a solemn legal tribunal, and as you are still more bound to do at that higher tribunal, the public opinion of this country, to which this correspondence will be referred.

COBDEN TO BIGELOW

Private

MIDHURST, 16 Dec. 1863.

My dear Sir:

Many thanks for your letter. When I received Delane's letter in his own name I said to my wife: "If he intends to

print this in the *Times,* there is some cogent hidden reason for his dropping the mask. Walter must have pushed him to the front." This I have no doubt is the case. It has been rumored that Walter aims at a peerage. If so, and Pam has given some sort of promise, this row about the "patronage" may be very inconvenient to both parties.

I have sent a letter to Delane calling on him for proof in the form of those "certain passages" which he says "will bear no other interpretation." I have confined my letter to this point and told him there must be no evasion. To facilitate matters, I accept the *Times* report for the true version of my speech and have cut from that journal and inserted in my letter the whole passage where I referred to the Laborer and Law, in which occurs this passage: "I don't want any agrarian outrages by which we should change all this," and I have told him that I uttered those words for the very purpose of anticipating misrepresentations.

I don't believe Delane has ever read my speech. As you say across the water, "I have put him in a tight place." I sent the letter to him on Tuesday morning and have not yet heard from him. *I* should not be able to answer the letter in a month.

We sometimes think you ought to come and see us. If we were not in such an inaccessible place I should press it.

With our kindest regards to Mrs. Bigelow,

Believe me,

Yours truly

Mr. Delane replied on the 16th of December that Mr. Cobden had proposed and, with Mr. Bright's aid, carried a measure in a Parliament elected principally by the peasantry, "whom you [meaning Cobden and Bright] desire to enfranchise, because they would then have a better chance of having property and would in two or three generations not only check the accumulation of lands in a few hands, but would break up all existing estates, great or small, and thus largely increase the number of proprietors."

This was such a manifest evasion of the issue that it was evident that Mr. Delane had delivered himself into his adver-

sary's hands; that Mr. Cobden had accomplished what at the outset he proposed to accomplish. He had compelled Mr. Delane to "come out into the open"; he had rendered it conveniently impossible for Lord Palmerston to make a lord of Mr. Walter, and had given "the servile press" of England a lesson which; as far as Cobden and Bright were concerned, it never forgot.

The correspondence from which I have quoted was edited and published by Mr. Hargreaves in the spring of 1864, and with it the correspondence on the same subject which passed between Mr. Cobden and Mr. Thornton Hunt, the editor of the *Daily Telegraph,* together with a voluminous collection of "opinions of the Liberal press" thereanent.

Mr. Cobden's discipline was not wasted upon the truculent journalist nor upon the other frequenters of Lady Palmerston's salon. Indeed, it was not long before it was about as much as Cobden could do to keep from being drawn into Palmerston's Cabinet. The recent biographer of Mr. Delane and his most friendly apologist closes his account of this dispute between his friend and Mr. Cobden as follows:

> Delane acted, we believe, at the earnest solicitation of the chief proprietor of the paper and one other trusted member of his staff, in abandoning for once the principle of anonymity with which he believed the best interests of the *Times* to be identified.

That is the official pæan of the victory and triumph of Cobden over the "Thunderer."

BIGELOW TO COBDEN

PARIS, Jan. 2, 1864.

Dear Sir:

I send you a paper by this mail, which it may perhaps interest you to read, as it forms a part of the history of your recent controversy with the Minotaur of the press.

I have reason to think that the Emperor counts confidently upon a Continental Congress and that he has pretty good reasons to expect the assistance of Russia. He will probably have

a final answer within the current week. I hear that he is much incensed with Lord Cowley,[1] who is held responsible for John Bull's refusal to come to his party.

I think that if Delane is satisfied with the shape in which your last letter left the controversy, it must be as pugilists profess to be satisfied, when they have "got enough."

Wishing you and yours a Happy New Year, I remain

Very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Jan. 2, 1864.

Dear Mr. Seward:

Before this reaches you, you will doubtless have received the *Archives Diplomatiques* containing your portrait. M. Amyot sent me 14 proof copies of the engraving for you. I thought you would value them sufficiently to indemnify me for the trouble of sending them. I sent 13 of them this morning to Boston by the former Consul at Napoléon-Vendée, who sails for the United States to-morrow and who promised to see that they reached you safely. The fourteenth I kept for the office.

I hope the Pope's letter[2] to the *illustre et honorable Président* Davis, which appears in the *Moniteur* of this morning, will not escape your attention.

Slidell had a fracas yesterday with some Yankee boys on the Champs-Élysées, which is in all mouths this morning. They had been out sailing their boats in the Bois de Boulogne. Coming back, they met him and made the Union flags on their boats as conspicuous as possible when he passed. Afterwards one of them fired a popgun, which struck him in the back—the

[1] "The Queen cannot see more in Drouyn's conversations with Lord Cowley than a renewed attempt to get us entangled in the Danish War." (Life of Second Earl Granville, Vol. I, p. 474.)

"The French are evidently most anxious (from Lord Cowley's letters) to get us into the quarrel and to set all Europe in a blaze, by raising Italy and by getting the Rhine. All this points to our keeping out of it altogether." (*Ibid.*, p. 475.)

[2] Which was written in reply to one addressed to the Pope by Davis and delivered to him by Dudley Mann.

boy says by accident. Slidell turned, collared the boy, and raised his umbrella to strike him. The boy followed the example of Joseph in the hands of Potiphar's wife and left nothing but his coat in the arms of the Commissioner, who bore it off not knowing what else to do with it, while the boy left him to his embarrassment. The boy's name is Trouro, I believe, from New Orleans.

Yours very truly and with cordial wishes for the happiness of you and yours in the coming year

BIGELOW TO DAYTON

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, Jan. 2, 1864.

Sir:

I learn by a letter received this morning from Mr. Moran, Assistant Secretary of Legation, at London, dated Dec. 31, 1863, that (70) seventy men had been sent within a few days by the rebels to France, but that none of them had gone direct to Calais.

Yours very respectfully

III

WHEN ROGUES FALL OUT

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

RICHMOND, 8 January, 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

THE passages contained in cypher in your No. 48 have been scanned very closely, and the effect produced on our minds is not altogether satisfactory. On the contrary, painful solicitude is still felt, lest in this instance also we may meet with the double dealing from which we have suffered so severely since the beginning of our struggle. Hopeful as I am in temper, there was something in what passed in the interview to which you refer, that indicated a desire to escape from plighted faith, and a scarcely disguised impatience of the burden and responsibility imposed by previous engagements which fills me with distrust. The same effect has been produced on the President. It may be over-anxiety on our part, as we may have been misled in our impressions by reason of the very meagre account which the embarrassment of a cypher correspondence has constrained you to give. I would be glad to have your own conclusions fully and frankly stated, as to what we may expect on this subject.

. . . . . .

I am not at all surprised at the accounts you give of the action of the Northern emissaries in suborning perjury, committing thefts and forging documents, for the furtherance of their objects. No crime is too revolting for this vile race, which disgraces civilization and causes one to blush for our common humanity. You have been removed from the scenes of their outrages, and are evidently startled at conduct on their part which we look for as quite naturally to be expected. A people who have been engaged for the three last years in forging our Treasury notes, cheating in the exchange of prisoners

of war, exciting slaves to the murder of their masters, plundering private property without a semblance of scruple, burning dwellings, breaking up and destroying agricultural implements, violating female honor, and murdering prisoners in cold blood, not to speak of Greek fire, stone fleets, and other similar expedients of warfare, would scarcely refrain from such trifles as those which excite your indignation. I entertain no doubt whatever that hundreds of thousands of people at the North would be frantic with fiendish delight if informed of the universal massacre of the Southern people, including women and children, in one night. They would then only have to exterminate the blacks (which they are fast doing now), and they would become owners of the property which they covet and for which they are fighting.

. . . . . .

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO DAYTON

Paris, Jan. 9, 1864.

Sir:

Mr. Moran writes me from London that the seventy sailors who left London recently for France, in the employ of the Confederate government, have gone to Brest. The Consul at Calais informs me that chronometers and other instruments of precision have arrived from Paris for the *Rappahannock* and that the work on board of her is progressing.

Yours very respectfully

Mr. De Leon was not the only person employed to enlighten the public mind of Europe at the Confederacy's expense. There were besides one Henry Hotze, a literary soldier of fortune, whose chief theatre of action was London, and James Spence, who was a merchant in Liverpool. They too found that the pro-slavery banner could not be successfully flown in Europe. Spence was innocent enough to write a book in behalf

of the Confederates in which he presumed to speak of slavery as an interest quite subordinate to the independence of the Confederate States.[1] He also got Hotze and other partisans of the Confederacy to recommend the Richmond Government to appropriate some money to circulate his book and make its author a sort of foreign correspondent of the State Department. The following letters from Secretary Benjamin will show with what success. They will also show how Earl Russell compromised his character as a gentleman, in the Secretary's estimation, by snubbing this hybrid London commissioner.

BENJAMIN TO HENRY HOTZE

RICHMOND, 9th January, 1864.

Sir:

. . . Your appreciation of the tone and temper of public opinion in France in your Nos. 29 and 31, although not in accordance with the views of the other correspondents of the department, concurs entirely in the conclusion to which I had arrived from the perusal of the principal organs of French journalism. It has been impossible to remain blind to the evidence of the articles which emanate from the best known names in French literature. In what is perhaps the most powerful and influential of the French periodicals, *La Revue des Deux-Mondes,* there is scarcely any article signed by the members of its able corps of contributors which does not contain some disparaging

[1] The mildest view of chattel slavery which Mr. Spence dared present to the English people, whose sympathy for the Confederacy he was trying to secure, may be gathered from the following paragraph, which is taken from his book entitled "The American Union," p. 131: "In fact slavery, like other wrongs, reacts on the wrong-doer. Taking the most temperate view of it, stripping away all exaggerations, it remains an evil in an economical sense, a wrong to humanity in a moral one. It is a gross anachronism, a thing of two thousand years ago; the brute force of dark ages obtruding into the midst of the nineteenth century; a remnant of elder dispensations whose harsh spirit was law, in conflict with the genius of Christianity, whose mild spirit is love. No reasoning, no statistics, no profit, no philosophy, can reconcile us to that which our instinct repels. After all the arguments have been poured into the ear there is something in the heart that spurns them. We make no declaration that all men are born equal, but a conviction—innate, irresistible—tells us, with a voice we cannot stifle, that a man is a man, and not a chattel. Remove from slavery, as it is well to do, all romance and exaggeration, in order that we may deal with it wisely and calmly, it remains a foul blot, from which all must desire to purge the annals of the age."

allusion to the South. Abolition sentiments are quietly assumed as philosophical axioms too self-evident to require comment or elaboration, and the result of this struggle is in all cases treated as a foregone conclusion, as nothing within the range of possibility except the subjugation of the South and the emancipation of the whole body of the negroes. The example of San Domingo does not seem in the least to disturb the faith of these philanthropists in the entire justice and policy of a war waged for this end, and our resistance to the fate proposed for us is treated as a crime against liberty and civilization. The emperor is believed by us to be sincerely desirous of putting an end to the war by the recognition of our independence; but, powerful as he is, he is too sagacious to act in direct contravention of the settled public opinion of his people, while hampered by the opposition of the English Government.

I fully appreciate the wisdom and prudence of your suggestions relative to the distinction which ought to be made by the press and by our government between the English Government and people. You will doubtless have observed that the President's message is careful (while exposing the duplicity and bad faith of the English cabinet, and Earl Russell's course of abject servility towards the stronger party and insulting arrogance towards the weaker) to show no feelings of resentment towards the English people. The sentiment of wrong and injustice done to us, of advantage meanly taken of our distress, of conduct towards our representative in London unworthy of a man possessing the instincts of a gentleman, all combine to produce an irritation which it is exceedingly difficult for the most temperate to restrain, and Earl Russell has earned an odium among our people so intense as to require the utmost caution on the part of those in authority to prevent its expression in a form that would be injurious to the public interests. At the same time we have not failed to observe and to appreciate at its full value the warm and generous sympathy which the intelligent and cultivated classes of English society have exhibited towards us in no stinted measure.

Your remarks in relation to Mr. Spence have been carefully weighed. You have perceived with your usual acuteness the exact embarrassment under which we labor in dealing with this gentleman, whose ability and services to our cause are recognized to the fullest extent. But Mr. Spence must be regarded in one of two respects—either as an English gentleman entirely independent of all connection with our government, and therefore at full liberty to express his sentiments and opinions about our institutions and people; or as an agent or officer of this government, and therefore supposed to speak with a certain authority on all matters connected with our country. In this later aspect it could not be permitted that he should make speeches denunciatory of its policy or institutions. No man can reconcile the

exigencies of these two positions, and if connected with the government, Mr. Spence must of necessity forego the expression of his individual opinions on points where they differ from those of the government which he serves. Now this is precisely what I understand Mr. Spence is unwilling to do. I send you inclosed an answer to a letter he has written to me, which you may read before sailing and forward it to him.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

BENJAMIN TO JAMES SPENCE

RICHMOND, January 11, 1864.

Sir:

. . . I feel some embarrassment in replying to your observations on the subject of slavery, but will be entirely frank in what I have to say. I freely admit that, as a private gentleman entirely disconnected from this government, you could not, consistently with self-respect, conceal or color your true sentiments on this or any other question in which principles are involved. It is also quite probable that the fact of your entertaining the opinions which you profess renders your advocacy of our cause more effective with a people whose views coincide with yours, and it would be folly on our part to request the aid or alienate the feelings of those who, while friendly to our cause, are opposed to the institutions established among us. On the other hand, it appears to me that candor requires on your part the concession that no government could justify itself before the people whose servant it is, if it selected as exponents of its views and opinions those who entertain sentiments decidedly averse to an institution which both the government and the people maintain as essential to their wellbeing. The question of slavery is one in which all the most important interests of our people are involved, and they have the right to expect that their government, in the selection of the agents engaged in its service, should refuse to retain those who are in avowed and public opposition to their opinions and feelings. I answer your appeal, therefore, by saying that, "as a man of the world," I would meet you on the most cordial terms without the slightest reference to your views on this subject; but that, "as a member of a government," it would be impossible for me to engage you in its service after the publication of your opinions.

While therefore it would be most agreeable to me to receive from you at all times any communications of facts, views, or opinions which

you might be good enough to send to me, and while such communications would be very valuable from you as a private gentleman, my public duty compels me to forego the advantage of establishing an official relation between us, although quite sensible of the value which would result from such relation.

I am, with great respect, etc.

Looking back to these letters written almost half a century ago, the infatuation of these Richmond statesmen seems to have approached, if it did not reach, the stage of dementia. They depended for the success of their revolt, as they confessed, upon the sympathy and coöperation of two powerful European states, in neither of which could be found a single statesman who would have dared to speak of slavery in any public assembly except in terms of abhorrence. Yet, in full view of this notorious fact, they proclaimed in an official note that they could accept the services of no one who was publicly identified with the antislavery opinions proclaimed by Mr. Spence. Would the man who should refuse to go down-stairs because he was unwilling to place himself under obligations to the law of gravitation be a more fit subject for a commission of lunacy?

DAYTON TO BIGELOW

Facts connected with the Florida, the Georgia and the Rappahannock, furnished at Mr. Bigelow's request

The *Florida* was built in England and sold, as is said, to the Confederates. She was manned by foreign seamen and armed by foreign guns. On her arrival in the port of Brest, I am informed that there were, independent of her officers, but two Americans on board of her. These two were boys who had been taken from an American ship which she had destroyed. On her way into the port of Brest she burned in the channel, I believe, the United States ship *Anglo-Saxon,* loaded with coal, and bound from Liverpool to New York. She is reported

to me to be heavily sparred and a good sailor. On her arrival in Brest she was admitted into a *Government dock* and put in thorough repair. Captain Winslow of the United States ship *Kearsarge,* lying off that port, reports to me: "By the English Queen's proclamation United States and Confederate vessels of war will be prohibited from taking anything but provisions for subsistence of the crew, coal sufficient to carry them 'to the nearest port of their country, or to some nearer destination'; in case of stress of weather, necessary repairs; and vessels are required to sail in twenty-four hours after arrival, except when repairs are made, which shall be completed as soon as possible and the vessels ordered to depart. Now in the case of the *Florida* it cannot be argued that she entered the port of Brest to make the necessary repairs caused from the violence of the sea. She steamed well when she was in the channel and had experienced no gale of wind. Since she has been at Brest she has almost been converted into a new and changed vessel. Her machinery has been modified, heavy parts for this modification cast in Paris; instead of repairs of sails, a new and entire suit has been made for her; her battery also has been transformed, roomy large ports cut in the bow, and the guns fitted to work in them; fighting bolts put in fore and aft where breechings were seized, and various other alterations." This letter is dated Nov. 24, 1863.

It is just to say that M. Drouyn de Lhuys informed me that this vessel was reported to them to be leaking badly and out of repairs, and that, having acknowledged the South as belligerents, they must treat her as a regular vessel of war. That no repairs, however, should be made except for the purposes of navigation. That nothing should be done to increase her fighting powers. At the same time it is to be added that the *Florida,* after landing at Brest some twenty-four passengers taken from the *Anglo-Saxon,* the last ship she destroyed, likewise disembarked seventy-five of her crew whose time, they said, had expired, and commenced the shipment of a new crew at Liverpool while she lay protected in the neutral port of Brest, and subsequently she continued her enlistments in the ports of Havre and Nantes. Portions of these men have doubtless been received on board at Brest.

Earnest protests against this were made by me as a clear violation of international law. I was informed, however, that

the Government did not feel itself justified in prohibiting the use of its port for such a purpose unless in shipping the new crew they took out more men than they brought in. The *Florida* has now been in the port of Brest for nearly five months, and, having been thoroughly refitted and repaired, with a new crew in whole or in part, is ready for sea. It is reported to me that seventy-five men newly enlisted have lately been sent from England to Brest or to other ports in France.

The *Georgia* is at the port of Cherbourg, another *Government dockyard.* This vessel was built in Scotland. She sailed from Greenock under the name of the *Japan* and professed to be bound for ports in the China Seas. She anchored in a small bay on the French coast close in to shore. Guns and ammunition were then and there placed on board of her from a small British steamer called the *Alar,* which followed her from English waters. The crew were then called aft and told that the original voyage was given up, and the name of the vessel would be changed, and that she would in future be a Confederate war steamer and burn all North American vessels. New shipping articles were produced and the crew or a majority of them induced to sign them. This was within the waters and jurisdiction of France, as I am informed. A Confederate flag was then raised, and she commenced her career. This vessel has never been in a port of the South.

She came into Cherbourg, and her Captain asked permission, as our Consul reports to me, "to have his ship admitted into one of the dry-docks to clean and examine her bottom." Extensive repairs have likewise been made to her machinery and I presume to other parts of this vessel. She has lain at Cherbourg since the 27th or 28th of October last, and is now, I am told, ready for sea.

The *Rappahannock,* another vessel claimed by the Confederates, lies at Calais. Anticipating that she would be stopped by the British Government, she lately escaped from Sheerness, England, by night, without papers and in an unfinished condition, with the engineers, workmen and other employees engaged on her on board. She came direct across the channel to Calais. On her arrival at that port the pulleys, ropes and other materials for completing her repairs were yet scattered on her decks, as our Consular Agent reports to me. As a punishment for the aid given to this vessel the British Government has dis-

missed from its employ all the workmen who went out in her. Since she has been at Calais her equipment and repairs have gone steadily on, as reported to me. Since lying in that port a large quantity of boxes and materials of different kinds essential to her equipment has been sent to her from England. About twelve young Americans, supposed to be chiefly officers, were awaiting her arrival at Calais, and upon a signal from this vessel endeavored by a "ruse" to get themselves on board of her soon after she came into the roadstead. Many men have been enlisted in England since her arrival at Calais to make up a crew for her, but it is believed that her crew is not yet complete. She has now been at Calais about six weeks.

It is due to M. Drouyn de Lhuys to say that he has at no time attempted to justify the equipment or repairs of this vessel under the circumstances in which she came into port, nor, as I understand from him, does the Minister of Marine; but the vessel has now been in port for so long a time as six weeks, and nothing is done, so far as is reported to me, to prevent her equipment and repairs in this port.

On the part of the Government of the United States, all these facts have been brought to the knowledge of the officials of the French Government, and I have repeatedly but respectfully protested against their action in reference to these three vessels.

The communication addressed to our Government by France and England at the breaking out of the Crimean war has been specially referred to. It will be found in the 6th Edition of Wheaton's "International Law," pg. 435, note.

The above are, I believe, the facts as reported to me in reference to these vessels.

You will of course make no such use of them as will in any way compromise improperly this legation.

Your obedient servant

January 12th, 1864.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, Jan. 14, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I presume you have had your attention directed to the amendment offered about a week ago to the address in the Corps Législatif by M. Arman, the deputy and shipbuilder from Bordeaux. It was a recommendation to the government to encourage the peace-at-any-price party of the United States. On Sunday morning I called upon M. Berryer to present my felicitations for the new year and for the admirable speech with which he had opened it in the Corps Législatif, and availed myself of the occasion to speak of Arman's amendment, which he had not noticed. I mentioned that I had heard Arman was likely to bring it forward in eight or ten days, and suggested that while he was on his feet some member might afford him an admirable opportunity of informing the public whether the vessels he was building at Bordeaux were designed to promote the kind of peace he recommended, and why the government withdrew the authorization it had once acceded to him. M. Berryer thought well of it, but he said it was impossible to proceed upon knowledge obtained from the documents I had shown him until they had been published or had, in some way, been authenticated, so as not to place the deputy in the position to be called upon to explain the process by which he obtained his information. I told him the papers had given most of the important facts and the *Moniteur* had copied a paragraph from the *Morning Star* (of London) which stated that the government had withdrawn the authorization (that, by the way, was a verbatim copy of a postscript to a note I had had occasion to write to Mr. Cobden).

These facts would be sufficient for a member, who might be illuminated by a perusal of my correspondence, to put M. Arman on his purgation, and thus bring the actual facts before the country in such a way as to provoke a general discussion of the subject, and compel the government to reply to Mr. Dayton's despatches a little more squarely and a good deal more

promptly. I suggested further that some obscure member should be prepared for this interpellation, and when the facts were sufficiently disclosed, the orators of the assembly might find the developments of sufficient public consequence to pursue the debate. He thought well of this proposition, and it was arranged that I was to see M. Guéroult, the editor of the *Opinion Nationale* and one of the Paris deputies, and show him all the documents relating to Arman's connection with the Confederates.

I took occasion before leaving to explain the history of the three Confederate steamers now refitting at Calais, Cherbourg and Brest, to show what an utter sham were all the pretences to neutrality which the government set up.

This interested and surprised him very much, for he knew nothing about these facts. M. Berryer is quite old and rarely reads newspapers or anything else, in fact, but has that work, when necessary for his professional purposes, done for him by M. Moreau or his secretary.

He begged me to give him a brief memorandum of the facts and points as soon as possible.

The next morning I mentioned what had occurred to Mr. Dayton and begged him, as he had the correspondence of the Consuls, and other and more evidence than I possessed, to prepare such a statement as M. Berryer required. This he was kind enough to send me yesterday morning. Meantime M. Moreau called, to my great delight, to say that, instead of having a publication of the facts in relation to Arman's operations in the *Opinion Nationale,* which was expected to follow my interview with Guéroult, M. Berryer wanted all the newspapers in which the subject had been mentioned collected for him as soon as possible. As I keep a file of all the political papers of any importance published in Paris, I was able yesterday to send him as many as he will be likely to read. At the same time I requested M. Moreau to direct his attention to the request of this government in connection with the English in 1854, not to equip vessels to prey upon their commerce, and stated the points made in reference to the Congress of Paris by Mr. Cobden in his letters to me a few months since. I urged M. Moreau to press upon M. Berryer the opportuneness of the occasion for making the government disclose its purposes and to expose the hollowness of the Paris declaration for which the

CARTE DU MEXIQUE

Territoire non occupé

Parties du Territoire occupé par les Français

Echelle

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 Myriamètres

ARIZONA

ÉTATS UNIS

TEXAS

MISSISSIPPI

ALABAMA

BASSE CALIFORNIE

COLFE DE CALIFORNIE

OCÉAN ATLANTIQUE

GOLFE DU MEXIQUE

Ft Fillmore

Ft Buchanan

Ft Bliss

El Paso

Ft Quitman

Ft Leaton

Ft Duncan

Fronteras

Janos

Arispe

Magdalena

Hermosillo

Altar

Garrizal

Atrato

Presidio del Rio Grande

Corpus Christi

Ft Intosh

Revilla

Palo Alto

Roca de la Palma

Matamoros

Monterey

Almaden

S. Fernando

Salado

Victoria

Tampico

Valle

San Luis Potosi

Charcas

Zacatecas

Fresnillo

Sombrerete

Mazatlan

Culiacan

Cosala

Durango ou Victoria

Panuco

Tepic

Guadalaxara

Lagos

Zamora

Tecolotlan

La Purification

Manzanilla

Colima

Acapulco

Zacualtipan

Ixmiquilpan

Tulancingo

Pachuca

Mexico

Toluca

Cuernavaca

Tlascala

Puebla

Orizaba

Cordova

Jalapa

Vera Cruz

Alvarado

Tehuacano

Oaxaca

Tehuantepec

Xaltianguis

Xamiltepec

Tuxtla

Chiapa

Tabasco

Frontera

Laguna de Terminos

Sisal

Merida

Valladolid

Campêche

Arena

Balcalare

Victoria

Belize

S. Christoval

Soconusco

Guatemala

S. Salvador

Montgomery

Jackson

Vicksburg

Baton Rouge

N.le Orléans

Houston

Galveston

Brazoria

Austin

Rio Grande del Norte

Rio Nueces

Rio Colorado

Rio Brazos

Rio Mississipi

Rio Grande

Rio Panuco

Rio Tabasco

Rio Chiapa

Rio Huasacualco

Rio Tehuantepec

Rio Alvarado

Rio Papaloapan

Rio Mescala

Rio Zacatula

Rio Lerma

Rio Santiago

Rio Verde

Rio Sinaloa

Rio Mayo

Rio Yaqui

Rio Gila

Rio Colorado

Rio Grande de Sonora

Rio Magdalena

Rio Fuerte

Rio Yaqui

Rio Mayo

government took to itself so much credit at our expense. M. Moreau promised to do this, and seemed to think M. Berryer would seize the opportunity.

It is a source of great gratification to me to find M. Berryer thoroughly interested in collecting information and studying the subject, for he is not in the habit of wasting his time in idle inquiries. My only fear now is that Arman may be dissuaded by the government from offering his amendment. If he is not, I think we shall be able to try conclusions with the government in a more favorable arena than would be afforded us by the courts.

I sent you last week M. Malespine's brochure about Mexico. You need not wonder that the government allowed such a map as that which accompanies it to appear, for they did not. It was printed without a full knowledge on the part of the government of what was doing, as I am told.

I send you also a copy of the *Patrie* of the 12th, containing a violent article which Malespine says was talked of five or six days in advance in private circles, and which, he says, is ascribed to Imperial hands. I dare say it reflects the feelings of many around the Emperor, and, as an agency in shaping public opinion, was not otherwise than agreeable to him.

I forgot to state that, during my interview with M. Berryer on Sunday, he opened a *pacquet* containing a note from one of his colleagues in the Chamber recommending to his perusal a long article in MS. enclosed about American affairs. Without reading it or even looking to see which side it supported, he handed it to Moreau, and asked him to read it and let him know what it was about. Yesterday Moreau showed me the article. It was written by M. Begouin to set M. Berryer right in regard to the claims of the Confederates upon the sympathies and support of France.

So far as I can learn, the President's proclamation and message suited all Americans better than any message that has come from Washington for years. In fact, among loyal Americans, the approval and admiration was apparently unanimous, but the amnesty feature, to my surprise, is not liked at all by the French, even by those who are friendly to us. The complaint is that it should have been broader—that it should have covered the whole South or none. It recalls to their minds the amnesties issued in France, of which so many now living have

been the victims in one form or another, and it inspires them with the same sympathy for the outlawed Southerners that they felt they and their families or ancestors deserved from the various proscriptive governments which, from time to time, have ruled in France for the last three-fourths of a century. I fear myself that it will ultimately appear that the Amnesty was too soon or too narrow.[1]

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO EVARTS

Paris, Jan. 16, 1864.

My dear Evarts:

I was glad to hear yesterday, through Mrs. Adams, of your arrival in London, and, from what she said, hoped to see you here to-day or to-morrow. Upon the strength of her representation I engaged M. Berryer and Mr. Dayton to dine with me on Saturday next at the Club, and as soon as I can assure myself of your company I propose to invite a few other gentlemen whom you might like to meet. I hope you may find it convenient to be here, for I may not be fortunate enough to find so favorable an opportunity of presenting you to M. Berryer, who is just now of course very much engrossed with his legislative and social duties. I hope you will not postpone your arrival here later than Wednesday, for there are matters here which require looking after without delay, in which your advice may be of great service.

In regard to the *Rappahannock,* about which you inquire, I send you a translation of a portion of a letter which I received this morning from my Consular Agent at Calais. The government, I think, has made up its mind to let all these vessels go. Mr. Dayton yesterday received a letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs—perhaps they had an interview—at which he was informed that the Minister of Marine had not been able to get any proof that the *Rappahannock* was destined for the Confederate service or that her refitting at Calais conflicted with the neutral obligations of France. This is either a gross

[1] Among these complainants to me were Guizot and Count Montalembert.

outrage on the part of either of the two Ministers, or our diplomatic agents in Paris and London have sadly neglected their duty in the premises, and I am quite sure that the latter is not the case. The fact is, unless this government can be taught to put a little less reliance upon our sense of our own weakness, there will be no end of trouble to be apprehended from here. There is now an effort to get the Corps Législatif to identify itself with what I am disposed to regard as the Imperial policy, in order that it may share the responsibility for whatever mischief may come of it. But more of this when I see you, which I hope may be soon. Let me be assured by the very next mail of your company on Saturday, if you please.

Yours very truly

P.S. If there are any proofs of the piratical character of the *Rappahannock* in possession of the Legation at London or at the Consulate which have not been transmitted to Mr. Dayton, you will do well, I think, to bring them with you.

MASON TO BENJAMIN

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE CONTINENT,
16 RUE DE MARIGNAN, PARIS, January 25th, 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

As some evidence that we have earnest and active friends in high position there, I enclose a circular recently issued by the "Southern Independence Association of London," and which fully explains itself. With most of the Members of the "Committee" I have a personal acquaintance, and am with many of them on terms of intimate relation. As of like character, I enclose also another circular, just issued at London, under auspices of which I am fully aware, by a society for "Promoting the Cessation of Hostilities in America," which also discloses its object. It is important to note that both these movements are purely of English origin; their promoters have indeed freely consulted with me, but not until after the respective plans were devised and to some extent matured by themselves. They are really, as they import, views of Englishmen addressed to the English people, and in this light is to be received the concluding paragraph in the circular

of the "Southern Independence Association of London." My attention has been called to it by more than one of my countrymen hereabouts, to whom my answer has always been: It is a view presented by Englishmen to their own people, and it is not addressed to us; it remains their affair, and for which we are in no manner responsible.

In my conversations with English gentlemen, I have found it was in vain to combat their "sentiments." The so-called antislavery feeling seems to have become with them "a sentiment" akin to patriotism. I have always told them that in the South we could rely confidently that after independence, when our people and theirs became better acquainted by direct communication, when they saw for themselves the true condition of African servitude with us, the film would fall from their eyes, and that in the meantime it was not presumptuous in us to suppose that we knew better than they did what it became us to do in our affairs.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27, 1864.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

I thank you in advance for the *Archives Diplomatiques*, which have not yet reached me.

The Papal Correspondence[1] is a blunder, but it comes at a time when it can do no harm at home or abroad.

Since the occupation of Texas, Chattanooga, and Knoxville our people are becoming very impatient with France, and fearless of everybody. What a change of popular temper!

Very truly

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

Jan. 28th, 1864.

Your No. 50 despatch in relation to Mr. De Leon bears nearly the same date as my despatch to you on the same subject, and requires

[1] Mann's account of his visit, on behalf of the Confederacy, to the Pope (p. 93).

no special remark. While appreciating the motives which induced your forbearance from complaint, I cannot but think that the department ought to have been apprised earlier of the facts related in your despatch, especially as to his opening, without the slightest warrant of authority, the sealed despatches addressed to you and committed to his care. This fault was of so very grave a nature that it alone would probably have sufficed to put an end to Mr. De Leon's agency, and we should have thus been spared the annoyance of the scandal created by the interception and publication of the objectionable correspondence which caused his removal.

It will be recollected that the Mr. De Leon referred to in the foregoing letter to Mr. Slidell was sent out under the especial auspices and protection of President Davis, and fortified with £25,000 as a corruption fund for use with the European press. Though he was recalled by the Richmond Secretary of State for opening Mr. Slidell's letters and sealed dispatches and for other alleged or implied misdemeanors, he flew to the defence of Mr. Slidell in reply to an allegation of mine, in an article in the *Century,* that Slidell had, while in the Senate, labored for the reopening of the slave-trade. The facts set forth in the following letter in reply to De Leon's communication were published in the *Century Magazine* for June 24, 1891, and were never denied, so far as I know, by De Leon or by any one else. It will give the reader some information about Mr. Slidell which is needed still, perhaps, to explain his selection from the many more prominent statesmen of the South as the pro-slavery missionary of the Confederacy to France.

To the Editor of the Century:

In reply to the allegation that the late John Slidell offered a resolution in the Senate of the United States "which contemplated a reopening of the slave-trade," your correspondent cites a letter written by the Senator in 1856 in which he disclaims any such purpose and justifies his recommendation that the treaty which required the United States to keep up a certain naval force on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade be abrogated by saying that it was "based on the argument that our ships could more effectually suppress the trade by cruising around Cuba than on the African coast."

To appreciate the value of this denial it will be well in the

first place to cite two or three paragraphs from the article to which your correspondent seems to think it a reply:

"It was through Slidell's influence that Soulé, also of New Orleans, was sent out to bully Spain into the sale of Cuba to the United States, and with Buchanan, then our Minister to England, and John Y. Mason, then our Minister to France, instructed to unite in the declaration of the conference at Ostend in 1854, that 'the acquisition of Cuba was a political necessity for the United States, to be accomplished by whatever means, fair or foul, might prove necessary.'

"In the following session of Congress Slidell offered a resolution in the Senate directing the President of the United States to give notice to the European powers bound together under the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade that after one year from date the United States would cease to be a party to that treaty, and would no longer maintain its quota of vessels upon the coast of Africa.

"Failing to secure the adoption of this resolution by Congress, whereby he had contemplated a reopening of the slave-trade, he and his partisans, using Mr. Buchanan, then President, as their instrument, bullied England into a practical renunciation of the right of visit and search of suspected slavers bearing the American flag, and into the admission that the flag alone was conclusive and final evidence of nationality.

"The effect of this was that, during the succeeding twelve months, more than a hundred vessels were ascertained to have been fitted out and employed for the slave traffic, and not one convicted by the courts until the accession of Lincoln and the appointment of a new régime of prosecuting attorneys.

"Slidell also was one of the parties who took a prominent part in securing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, by which it was intended to open all the Northwestern territory to slavery.

"Not content with the impulse given to the African slave-trade by England's practical abandonment of the right of visit and search, in the session of 1858–59 Slidell introduced a bill to place $30,000,000 at the disposal of President Buchanan to be used in negotiating the purchase of Cuba."

The Haytians have a proverb that one should never stoop to tie his shoe-strings in a melon patch. Slidell pretends in his letter that he was only tying his shoe-strings, while all the

prominent measures with which as a Senator his name was identified show that he was all the time after melons.

1st. He wanted to seize and occupy Cuba, and, failing in that, to purchase the island in order to prevent the emancipation of her slaves; to enlarge the American slave market; ultimately to increase slave representation in Congress.

2nd. He wished the right of visit and search renounced for the same reason. No other can be imagined. The pretence which he assigns, that the slave-trade could be more effectually suppressed by cruising around Cuba, is absurd on the face of it. To say nothing of the inordinate expense of making such a blockade effective, such cruisers could only prevent the landing of slaves in Cuba. They would not prevent their being landed in Porto Rico, nor on any other of the Spanish islands, nor in the Brazils, nor even in the Southern ports of the United States and in California. It was to render this trade more secure and the obstacles to its prosecution less effective that he and his partisans managed to compel England as well as the United States to abandon the right of search, so that a suspected slaver had only to fly the United States flag to run unscathed through a fleet of cruisers and land its cargo of bondmen with impunity.

It is difficult to see what more our government could have done to have facilitated the slave-trade except to have sent our ships of war to the African coast to act as convoy to the slavers. Most of the readers of the *Century* may need to be reminded that a very large proportion of the present United States was, at the time the events here referred to occurred, under territorial government or had but recently become States. Of the latter, Texas, with a territory about six times as large as that of New York, had but recently been admitted as a slave State. California, the largest State in the Union after Texas, also recently admitted, and all the vast Northwest territory, inherited a lawful exemption from slavery.

The slaveholding States, however, insisted upon their right to occupy and to till all the new States and Territories with servile labor.

To do this they needed more slaves. That kind of property at that time was neither abundant nor cheap enough in the United States to answer their purpose, and any considerable emigration would not only advance the price, but impoverish

the planters who remained behind, by producing a scarcity of productive labor. To make face therefore against the competing emigration from the free States there was but one alternative, and that was to increase the facilities for getting slaves at cheaper rates, and that meant to import them from Cuba and Africa. When they found their effort to Africanize the new free States and Territories could not succeed, they determined to dissolve the Union if they could. The sacrifices they made in the effort show how much they were in earnest about it.

It requires but a slight familiarity with the history of our government from 1847, when, in the interest of the slave-holding class, we wrested Texas and California from Mexico, to 1860, when the slave States made the election of Lincoln a pretext for attempting to secede from the Union, to see that the Africanization of the free States and Territories, by minimizing the obstacles to the traffic in slaves, was the paramount object of a faction in the country of which John Slidell was the leading spirit. It is ages too soon for time to have sufficiently deodorized that statesman's name to permit his apologists to think seriously of trying to enrol it among those of the elect who labored to put down the slave-trade.

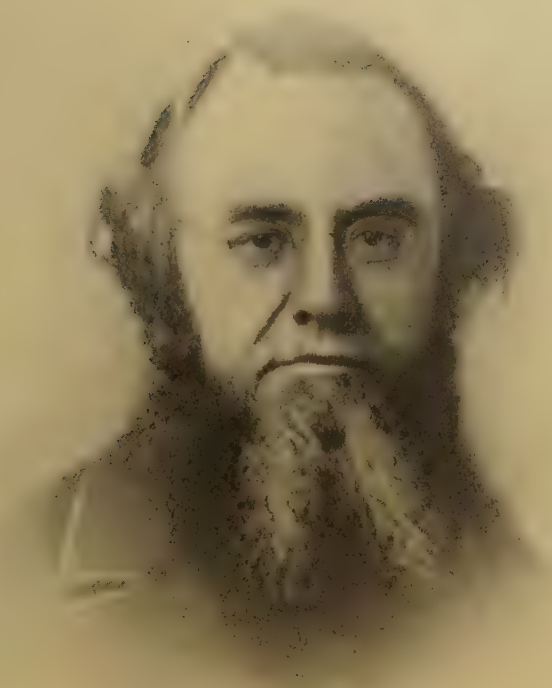
A. DUDLEY MANN TO BENJAMIN

40 Albemarle Street, London, January 29, 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

Herewith I transmit the prospectus of the "Southern Independence Association of London." British subjects undoubtedly have the right to do and say what they choose, as relates to any influence which our country can exercise over their doings and sayings; but it is lamentable to perceive that our professed, and, as I am inclined to believe, well-disposed friends have committed themselves to the keeping up of an agitation against the cherished institution of the States composing our Confederacy, even after our recognition. Exeter Hall itself could do nothing more hurtful to our general interest. We have no conditions to make with Englishmen or with England as respects the active management by ourselves of our own internal affairs. Rome required nothing whatever in this regard. *My explanations to the*



A.D. 1814

Edwin M. Stanton
President Lincoln's Secretary of War

A.D. 1869

Supreme Pontiff upon the subject were satisfactory to him, and he did not, in the slightest manner, allude to the matter in the letter which in virtue of his eminent position he wrote to the President.

It is supposed, but whether correctly or not I cannot undertake to say, that Mr. James Spence is the author of the offensive paragraph; the same gentleman who has the reputation of being, *par excellence,* the British champion of our cause. Personally, I do not know this individual—who is represented as one of high worth of character—but I have always had a horror of would-be champions of public causes. Their zeal for success, often for their own selfish glorification, is most frequently unsustained by the prudence of sound common sense.

In the cast of the Committee there are very elevated (and to myself several truly dear) names; but I would be willing to endure the pain of severing my social relations forever with those who bear them, if I could conceive that they were capable of connecting us with an unceasing antislavery agitation. It is scarcely possible that each of the members of the Committee perused the prospectus. Mr. Gregory, I know, has been, as well as others, a long time absent from the metropolis.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

WASHINGTON, Feby. 1, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your confidential note apprising me of the concerted plan to draw attention in a proper quarter to the swarm of sympathizers in Paris with the insurgent cause. I shall look with much interest to the dénouement.

The article in the *Patrie* seems to be quite out of season. One cannot but see that a Parisian editor sitting in his closet gets but an imperfect knowledge of the course of events.

Our civil war has reached such a stage that I think no one in the loyal States any longer expects ever to see a division of the Union, while in the insurrectionary States I believe that every candid man is exercised only with the questions how long the

resistance of the insurgents can yet be maintained, and what will be the best terms that can be secured.

Not only the far-off, but also the near future of France is now a matter of as much speculation in this country as the future of the United States has been in France during the last three years.

Paris has usually a clear sky, but we can see as far and as distinctly here as statesmen do there.[1]

Very sincerely yours

BENJAMIN TO A. DUDLEY MANN

RICHMOND, 1st February, 1864.

Sir:

The President has been much gratified at learning the cordial reception which you received from the Pope, and the publication of the correspondence here (of which I send you a newspaper slip) has had a good effect. Its best influences, as we hope, will be felt elsewhere in producing a check on the foreign enlistments made by the United States. As a recognition of the Confederate States, we cannot attach to it the same value that you do; a mere inferential recognition unconnected with political action *or the regular establishment of diplomatic relations*[2] possessing none of the moral weight required for awakening the people of the U. S. from their delusion that these States still remain members of the old Union. Nothing will end this war but the utter exhaustion of the belligerents, unless, by the action of some of the leading powers of Europe in entering into formal relations with us, the United States are made to perceive that we are in the eyes of the world a separate nation, and that the war now waged by them is a *foreign*, not an *intestine* or *civil* war, as it is termed by the Pope. This phrase of his letter shows that his address to the President as "President of the Confederate States" is a formula of politeness to his correspondent, not a political recognition of a fact. None

[1] In seven years from the date of this letter the Emperor of France was a prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe, his family were in exile, and France was a republic. This letter and the following, written on the same day, curiously, reflect the rise of the sun upon the Union Government and its setting in darkness upon the insurgent Government.

[2] Mann was evidently sent to Rome with an expectation of his being soon clothed with diplomatic authority.

of our political journals treat the letter as a recognition in the sense you attach to it, and Mr. Slidell writes that the Nuncio at Paris, on whom he called, had received no instructions to put his official *visa* on our passports, as he had been led to hope from his correspondence with you. This, however, may have been merely a delay in the sending of the instructions.

. . . . . .

I am, very respectfully, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Feb. 3, 1864.

Dear Mr. Seward:

I am sorry to say that Arman has withdrawn his amendment upon which we were relying as a means of bringing the question of our violated neutral rights before the French people. The address is adopted, and now there is no longer any hope of taking an appeal from the government to the people through the Chambers. It is no doubt government influence that has led Arman to withdraw his motion, for they had got wind somehow that Berryer intended to avail himself of the discussion on that amendment to espouse our cause. M. Berryer had his speech all prepared, and my disappointment that it is not to be made is almost greater than I can express. The Corps Législatif for this session may be considered closed to us; our diplomatic dispatches are not answered, and the press is discouraged.

There is but one course to take, in my opinion, and that is for you yourself to state precisely what our government considers right, give notice of what we shall insist upon, and direct Mr. Dayton to make that communication to the government. Such a communication should recapitulate the facts upon which your policy is based as fully as possible, for in that form they would be sure of a publicity which it would be difficult to give them in any other way, and publicity is what is wanted in order to get the people on our side and keep them there. There is not a man in France who would conscientiously sustain the government in its hospitality to Confederate cruis-

ers and shipwrights. But as long as we will submit to it, they will continue to add to our burden of toleration.

My wife is ill with typhoid fever, and I have not been able to attend to my office business for some days, or I should have written you earlier and more at length upon this subject. I hope you have received M. Moreau's brochure, of which I printed 1,650 copies and am circulating in all the best places with care.

It is the best thing of the kind we have had, for it is a complete arsenal of authenticated facts upon almost all controverted points.

Yours in great haste but always very truly

BIGELOW TO UNITED STATES CONSUL AT NICE

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 18, 1864.

Dear Sir:

I am not aware of the existence of any statute law authorizing the diplomatic or consular officers of the United States to perform the marriage ceremony.

An act approved June 22, 1860, contains all the law that I know anything about, of a statutory character, on this subject. The 31st section of that act unquestionably authorizes any persons to be married in your presence who would be authorized to marry if residing in the District of Columbia.

It has been the usage of this legation to permit marriages to be solemnized in presence of the head of the legation for the time being, by a clergyman, and I see no reason why under this law every consul has not authority to do as much.

Yours, etc.

HON. WILLIAM SLADE.

BIGELOW TO THE UNITED STATES CONSULS IN FRANCE

PARIS, Feb., 1864.

Dear Sir:

The act requiring copies of all invoices of merchandise shipped to the United States to be filed with the Consul who authenticates them, furnishes a means superior to any ever possessed before, of ascertaining the amount and value of our imports from different countries: with this view I have tabulated the invoices deposited in my Consulate during the last six months, and the results are so instructive that I venture to suggest that all the Consuls in France do the same, that we may have the means of getting for the first time at a precise statement of the Exports of France to the United States.

I classified the merchandise under the following heads:

Dry goods, embracing cloths, clothing, and articles of apparel of all kinds; every variety of gentlemen's furnishing and ladies' dress goods and trimmings; carpets, bedclothing and upholsterer's fabrics.

Fancy articles, embracing artificial flowers, feathers, buttons, etc.; hooks and eyes, eyelets, pins, steel articles, etc.

Jewelry and precious stones, musical instruments, parlor and toilet ornaments, pictures, colors, toothpicks, albums, bronzes, articles in hair, portemonnaies, leather goods, canes, whips, umbrellas, parasols, toys, brushes, pipes, opera and eye glasses, spectacles, clocks, lamps, perfumery, soap, combs, fans, playing-cards, dice, dominoes, tooth powders, pen and cigar holders, etc., etc., etc.

Stationery, embracing paper, writing materials, books, engravings, sheet music, etc.

Chemicals, comprising not only chemicals proper, but dyestuffs, medicines, philosophical and scientific apparatus.

Miscellaneous, comprising armor, fruits, guns, gelatine, fish oil, pâtés de foie gras, oil of œillette, confitures, bristles, skins, mustards, printers' materials, corks, sheet tin, conserves, seeds, vinegar, marble clocks, tin tubes, ivory, millstones, machines, musical boxes, and articles not embraced under the other heads.

I then ascertained the declared value of all merchandise invoiced under these heads respectively for each month between the first day of July and the 31st day of December, 1863, inclusive, and the number of invoices signed for each month.

If you think the results of such an analysis would be worth the trouble it would cost to prepare it, I would be much obliged to you if you would send me a copy.

I am now in the habit of entering my invoices so as to give these results with little trouble at the end of the quarter. My Register is divided into columns so as to give:

1st, Name of the shipper.

2nd, Name of the parties to whom goods are forwarded.

3rd, Nature of entry.

4th, Fee.

5th, Amount of invoice in one of six columns under the following headings, respectively:

(1)	(2)	(3)
Dry Goods,	Fancy Goods,	Stationery,
(4)	(5)	(6)
Wine,	Leather,	Chemicals,

each embracing all varieties of merchandise coming properly under the general designation.

I would recommend you to adopt a similar practice, at least until we ascertain whether the information to be desired from these statistics is likely to be worth the trouble necessary to obtain it.

During the past six months 6,290 invoices were filed in my office, representing property of the declared value of 54,310,423 francs, which is more than half of all the imports of all the rebel States for the entire year 1850, and I suppose of 1860 also, though I have not the returns of that year within my reach.

Yours very respectfully

P.S. If you think well of the invitation, please extend it to your Consular Agents if you have any.

BIGELOW TO GEORGE D. MORGAN

PARIS, February 5, 1864.

My dear Morgan:

Your letter of the 20th ult. found me shut up with my poor wife, who has been stretched upon her bed for now three weeks with the typhoid fever. Till within a week of her illness she had enjoyed remarkable health, when she took a cold that she neglected to nurse. I have not been to my office but twice since her attack nor had my clothes off at night once. So that I need not say that "the Season" has not thus far been very gay for me.

Evarts has been here about a fortnight, and if he has to qualify for his mission as Ezekiel did, when sent "to them of the captivity at Tel-abib, that dwelt by the river of Chebar," by eating, he will soon be a gifted diplomatist, for he has been breakfasted and dinnered enough since he arrived to have destroyed the vigor of any ordinary constitution.

This mail will carry you the first reports of the new European war, which inclines me to think, with you, that our war is drawing to a close, for the struggle which is about to take place in the old world is destined, I think, to set loose a vast amount of labor and money, which is in the order of Providence, I think, to find its way to the United States to indemnify or reward us for the brave stand we have taken in defence of the rights of the people to govern themselves. But it is necessary first that we vindicate popular sovereignty by demonstrating its capacity to contend with the enemies of its own household, before we can expect to become a refuge for those whom the impending war is going to put to flight. But because the war has commenced I infer that it is nearly over with us. The logic may seem a little forced, but it suits my purpose, if it does not yours and Jeff. Davis and Mr. Huntington the slaveholder. I hope Chase will have the pluck to stick to the principle of taxation instead of running his face. It is wise, and if he is firm he will triumph, I have no doubt. If he should not be President it is no great matter. He will never be a greater man in whatever position he is placed than he is in the treasury, if he car-

ries us successfully through this war. I never heard of any one who would prefer the fame of George III. to that of his famous Chancellor of the exchequer. I should be sorry if Chase were to split upon the rock upon which so many American statesmen have made shipwreck by mistaking mere altitude for greatness. It is only children that can be excused for thinking they are taller when they stand on a chair.

I wish Mr. Welles would send us two or three fast and powerful ships of war, of which by this time, I think, we ought to have an abundance or at least some to spare for this important quarter. It would do more to quiet our difficulties about Confederate steamers than anything else. It really seems strange that the Confederates should have a larger navy in foreign waters than we.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO STEPHEN COLWELL

Paris, Feb. 5, 1864.

Dear Sir:

I beg you will receive my cordial thanks for your most instructive and interesting letter of the 24th Dec. But for serious illness in my family, which has prevented my going to my office for three weeks, I should have acknowledged your kindness sooner and my obligations to Mr. Leslie.

I am much encouraged by the tone of your letter to hope that this war will go far to cure the disaster-breeding practice of long credits in our domestic commerce, by removing the need of them, towards which the abundance of a national currency has doubtless contributed. This may, as you suggest, prevent anything like the general crash which under the credit system of other days might surely have been predicted and which is generally still apprehended on this side of the Atlantic. Whether the political evils of an excessive expansion of government credits may not in the end be as disastrous in any other way remains to be seen. If it saves our Union, however, all other evils will seem trifles to our people. I sometimes fear

that we have got our money too easily and that neither the government nor the people have felt enough of the cost of this war to make them use a prudence, vigor and economy in its prosecution proportioned to the magnitude of the actual and prospective sacrifices it must involve.

When I reflect, however, how much we had to reform both in the North and in the South, how much as a nation and as a people we had to learn and to unlearn, and what a grovelling political morality had possession of our government and was rapidly spreading among our people, I realize the necessity of a long war, a perilous war and a destructive war, not to be terminated until its august mission is accomplished and the principle of popular sovereignty has received a vindication which it needs. That vindication once made, no other form of government will long be possible among civilized people. The preparations for the era when that vindication shall be complete have already commenced on this side of the Atlantic. There is war once more in Europe. A new struggle of sovereigns for the right to rule has commenced, and all Europe will soon embark in a contest in which, by the light reflected from America, the people will see that neither of the combatants are in the right, but are fighting for what properly belongs to themselves.

This war, which commenced three days ago in Holstein, is destined soon to place at our disposal a vast amount of labor and capital, and under Providence to reward us for the noble stand we have made against frightful discouragements in defence of the right of every people to govern themselves. If I did not seem to see the finger of Providence in every stage of the American Rebellion I might have some apprehension that events might move too fast here for us and that the United States would scarcely be ready to harvest the crop which European sovereigns have been sowing for them; but I have learned to understand the faith of the disciples of St. Thomas, *Credo quia incredibile est,* and my confidence in the beneficent tendency of events in the United States is not at all abated by my inability to comprehend them or because they do not in all respects answer to my calculations and hopes, for I have seen, with every year, how much greater and more desirable results have been reached than I had ever dreamed of expecting. In this faith I am greatly strengthened by the perusal of your

obliging letter, for which I beg you again to accept my sincere thanks.

When you see Mr. Leslie I hope you will not fail to present him with my acknowledgments and kind remembrances.

I am, my Dear Sir, etc.

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 16 February, 1864.

Sir:

Commander Maury, C.S.N., being despatched by Commodore Barron to Richmond, I avail myself of so favorable an occasion to speak more fully of matters to which I had in previous despatches but very briefly and cautiously alluded.

Lieutenant Whittle, who was sent to the Confederacy by Captain Bullock last summer, communicated to the President and Secretary of the Navy detailed information respecting the arrangements made for the building of ships in France and the extrication of two of those then in course of construction in England from anticipated difficulties.

These arrangements have been seriously interfered with by the felonious abstraction of certain papers as stated in my No. 49, and it is now asserted that by similar means papers relating to the ships in England have come into the possession of the emissaries of the Washington government. On this latter point I am inclined to think that the assertion is unfounded, as Captain Bullock is very confident that no access could have been had to his papers, and I have every reason to believe that in other quarters equal vigilance has been observed. So far as regards the corvettes that are being built at Bordeaux and Nantes, there is unfortunately no doubt of the fact that complete evidence of their ownership is in the hands of Dayton and has been by him communicated to his government.

By referring to the report of my conversation with the Emperor contained in my No. 38, you will find that, while fully assenting to the arming and departure of the corvettes, he consented only to the building of ironclads for our account and did not commit himself to permit their sailing unless their destination could be concealed. This in the case of ironclads could only be done by setting up an apparent ownership by some foreign government as to the corvettes. They were to be represented as intended for commercial purposes in

the Indian Ocean, China, etc. The contract for the corvettes was concluded only after the official consent to their armament and sailing was given by the Minister of Marine, and this was given on the representation that they were intended for commercial purposes, although their real character and destination were fully known to him; he, however, reluctantly signed the order in obedience to superior authority. No such authority was given in case of the ironclads, and *I was ignorant that any contract was in contemplation for their construction until after it had been made.* I mention these facts, not with the most remote idea of implying any censure upon Captain Bullock, but to establish the distinction to be drawn between the two classes of vessels, which is necessary to bear in mind in order to come to a proper decision as to the course to be pursued in relation to them. In the first interview I had with the Minister of Marine on the 19th November, consequent on my note to the Emperor of the 9th of November contained in my No. 48, he drew a very broad line of distinction between the corvettes and the ironclads, saying that with proper precautions the former might be permitted to go to sea, but that the ironclads being from their very build solely fitted for warlike purposes, their being permitted to sail in spite of the remonstrances of the Washington Government, and in violation of the Emperor's declaration of neutrality, *would be an overt act of hostility.*

The question now presents itself, what is to be done with these vessels? M. Arman, the builder of these ironclads, was informed that they will not be permitted to go to sea except as the property of some non-belligerent government; this was before the breaking out of hostilities between Denmark, Austria, and Prussia. Captain Bullock, after consulting Mr. Mason, Commodore Barron and me, determined to sell the ironclads. They could have been disposed of, at a considerable advance on their cost, to Denmark or to Russia, but the pending war may put these purchasers as belligerents out of the market. Commodore Barron and Captain Bullock say that the corvettes were intended to act in conjunction with the ironclads in raising the blockade on our coasts, and this object being no longer attainable and there being few Federal merchant vessels afloat, they are disposed to sell the corvettes also, at least two of them. I do not agree with them in this view of the case. Should we withdraw our cruisers, the Federal flag would soon resume on the ocean the rank which we have forced it to abdicate; we cannot expect the *Alabama* and *Florida* always to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, and we should be prepared to supply their loss. I fear that the *Rappahannock* will prove to be as unfit for that service as the *Georgia,* and will not make more than one cruise.

In deciding, however, the question of the disposition to be made of the vessels, a new difficulty presents itself which applies alike to both

classes. It has been found extremely difficult to obtain engineers for the *Georgia* and *Rappahannock*, two small vessels, and with the increased vigilance of the English authorities, it will hereafter be found almost impracticable to man several large vessels. On the other hand, a few months may produce great changes in our favor. I know that the Emperor's feelings are as friendly as ever, and a new Ministry in England may enable him to indulge them; the chapter of accidents is always in the long run fruitful of great and unexpected results. Perhaps it may be better to go on and complete the ships; there is no reason to apprehend any interruption in the work, and there is no danger whatever of losing them by any proceedings similar to those pending in England, as there is no municipal law prohibiting the fitting out of ships of war for the belligerent powers with whom France is at peace.

I have given Captain Maury verbal explanations respecting the ships in England, which I have thought it not prudent to commit to paper even with so safe a messenger.

I have the honor to be, etc.

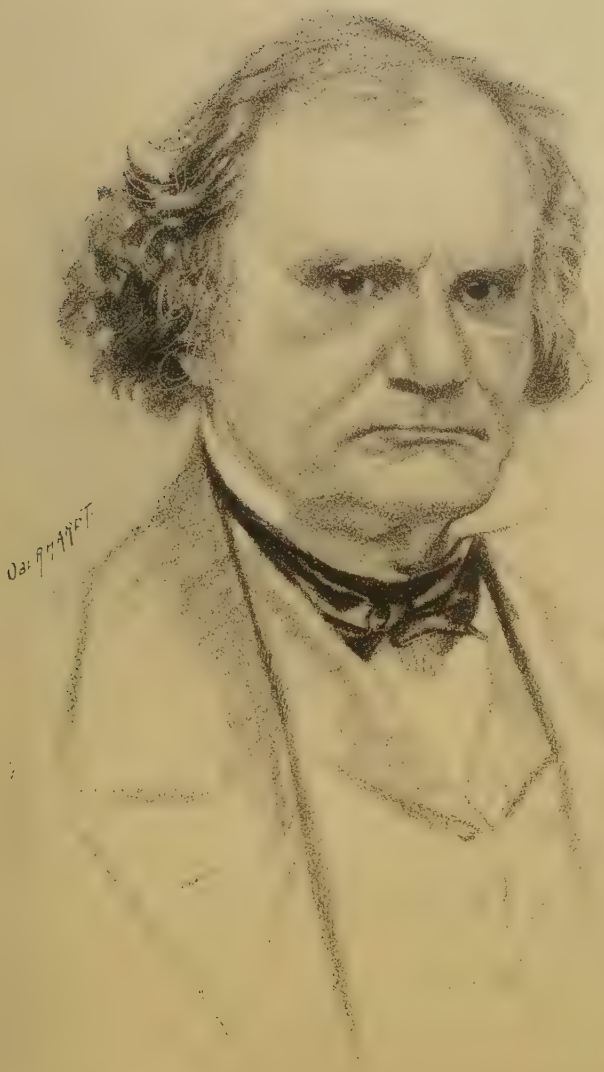
MASON TO BENJAMIN

LONDON, February 18, 1864.

Sir:

My No. 2 from Paris, dated the 8th instant, with its enclosures, will go with this. I brought it with me from Paris last week, to be mailed here. . . .

These despatches will be borne by Commander Maury of the Navy, who is sent home by Commodore Barron, with the approbation of Mr. Slidell and myself, in order personally to communicate to the Navy Department (should the despatches which he will bear be destroyed *in transitu*) full information in regard to the total failure of our efforts to get our ships either from France or England. Mr. Slidell, who has full cognizance of all the machinery set at work in France, will, by his despatches to go with this, have given you full information; or, if lost, it will be furnished orally by Commander Maury. Suffice it to say here the conviction has been forced upon us that there remains no chance or hope of getting ships out from either England or France, and that, in consequence, those in prospect are to be disposed of in the best way that may be done. It is a painful disappointment, but I am satisfied that nothing was left undone to



A.D. 1798

James M. Mason

Confederate commissioner to Great Britain

A.D. 1871

effect the object. From England we have long since had nothing to expect; from France we have the right to entertain a belief of other results—why, Mr. Slidell's despatches or Commander Maury will explain. I confess that I can find neither excuse nor palliation in the defeat of our expectations in that quarter.

I have the honor to be, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Feby. 22, 1864.

My dear Bigelow:

I am very sorry to hear of the illness of Mrs. Bigelow. I pray God that she may have passed the crisis safely.

It is a sad disappointment that the "Motion" was withdrawn. It is, however, a satisfaction to know that such a Motion was thought too bold. Before we decide what to do *More* in France, we wait to be a little better assured about our affairs in England.

You can infer from this what I do not think it perfectly safe to write.

But be assured of one thing, we entertain now no apprehensions.

Faithfully yours

BIGELOW TO W. C. BRYANT

March 4, 1864.

Dear Mr. Bryant:

I asked Mr. House, who, without being personally known to me, was good enough to put a corner of his trunk at my disposal, to take to you a new book in three volumes which has just appeared, H. Taine's "Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise." It is just now occupying a large share of the attention of European critics and is, I think, quite the most deliberate attempt to appreciate the literature of Great Britain that has been made by any Frenchman since Voltaire. No

Frenchman knows English literature more thoroughly than Taine, and France has no better literary critic that I know of. I find great pleasure and profit in studying the effect produced by English literature on a clever Frenchman, and there is no doubt that John Bull as well as the rest of mankind would find it greatly to his advantage occasionally to see himself as others see him. I wish we in America could see the continent of Europe less uniformly as John Bull sees it.

It looks very much now as if all Europe would be by the ears next summer, and if so, I pray that, when the tree is shaken, the United States will be ready to hold their hat.

There is new trouble here about the Mexican Empire. The Archduke Maximilian, who has been staying some weeks with his father-in-law in Brussels, was expected here yesterday on his way to take possession of his Empire. His apartments had been prepared for him at the Tuileries; invitations were out for a grand dinner and a masked ball and I don't know what all. Imagine the consternation of the Ld. Chamberlain on learning of the receipt of a dispatch from the Emperor *in posse* stating that he could not be in Paris this week, nor fixing any time when he would come. The same day the A.D. [Archduke] telegraphed to his knot of advisers in Paris to join him at once at Brussels. Of course the inspirations of Imperial breasts are mysterious to common mortals, but it is conjectured that King Leopold has advised him not to put his foot in France, much less in Mexico, unless the Emperor will support him in case of difficulty with the United States. Such an engagement the Emperor dare not enter into, at least during the session of the Corps Législatif. The feeling about Mexico and about the United States is too decidedly adverse to any farther trouble in those quarters to admit of his giving any pledge of Imperial support in case of trouble with the United States. This I understand is the Palmerstonian explanation of the Archduke's telegraph.

The *Evening Post* has every outward sign of increasing prosperity and usefulness. You have certainly, as we all have, great reason to congratulate yourselves upon the rapidity with which the whole nation is swinging round to your views of the slavery question. The President is making out for himself a larger place in history than he has any idea of.

Yours, etc.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, March 7, 1864.

My dear Sir:

At last I am able to forward the new regulations of the Hôtel des Invalides, just come to hand. Why they were withheld so long after they were promised, I cannot tell, unless it was that they might be accompanied by the set of forms with which the new regulations are to be put into operation. I have this day sent them forward, in a parcel addressed to the State Department, by the express agency of L'Herbette, Kane & Co.

In the same parcel you will find the new pension laws as revised and perfected to the latest dates.

Let me here say to you that all these documents are very valuable and not readily replaced. None of them are on sale and they are only to be had upon direct application to the Ministry.

Now I wish you to listen to some of my grievances. With the exception of one copy of the Diplomatic Correspondence, I have not received a single one of the documents communicated by the President or his Cabinet to Congress. I have not yet seen, even in the newspapers, a complete copy of any of the Cabinet reports. One of the consequences has been that not a single journal in Paris has copied or even given an abstract of any of these reports, nor has there been an editorial article about them.

Another consequence has been that to repeated applications from the highest quarters for authentic information with which to discuss our financial situation in official journals I have been able to offer nothing but promises.

Affairs at home are of such constant and engrossing interest that I don't expect any special attention from the Govt. officers, but I have supposed that the annual series of documents which accompany the President's Message would be sent to our representatives in the Metropolis of Europe as a matter of course and by the mere operation of the ordinary government machinery. I wish some time when you are at the State Department you would mention my griefs to Fred.

Seward and to whoever there is responsible when you are at the Treasury. It is particularly important that everything written or said of an official or officious character about our finances and resources should reach me promptly, for now there is inquiry for that kind of information, and three or four of the most authoritative writers connected with the official press of France have been and are still waiting for me to give them the latest official reports. I ought to have half a dozen copies of all the documents sent to me the moment they are printed. I don't believe any who get them turn them to better account, as I could satisfy you if I might have the pleasure of a half hour's talk with you.

You will please to understand that I trouble you about these matters in my old character of constituent and friend, and therefore do not deem it necessary to waste any words on apologies. If you have no time to do this little scolding on my account, I wish you would transfer it to Mrs. Morgan, who I know will do it for me cheerfully, promptly and thoroughly.

I have been a close prisoner for the past seven weeks by the bedside of my wife, who has been confined all that time with the typhoid fever. She is now well enough to leave her bed, and in a day or two I think will ride out. Our nurse has had the same disease, and I fear one of my boys is getting it, so that there is a fair prospect of my imprisonment lasting for a while longer, even if I escape myself, which is more than I can fairly expect.

Evarts is improving the leisure secured to him by your election to the Senate,[1] in studying the institutions of other nations where the people have less to do with the choice of their legislators. He leaves here for Italy on Wednesday.

Mr. Dayton has been and indeed still is quite ill. If you have any project before you in the Senate affecting the Diplomatic and Consular body, I wish you would send it to me—through the State Department to save postage. We all unite in cordial greetings to Mrs. Morgan.

Yours very truly

[1] He was a competitor for the seat in the Senate won by Governor Morgan.

BIGELOW TO CHARLES G. HALE[1]

PARIS, March 11, 1864.

My dear Hale:

I am very much obliged to you for the *Advertiser* and for the article it contained about the French Custom Houses. I was *wishing* to regard it in part as a personal attention. I was even more gratified with the impression it left, that you shared my views in regard to the fundamental defect of our civil administration—its changeableness—which the merits of the French bring into strong relief.

I have just sent to the State Department a report on our Consular system, contrasted with the French, which is much superior to any other in the world, and I have there taken the ground that any attempt to make anything out of our service proportioned to the growing needs of our country will be idle without, first, making the tenure of office more permanent;

Second, letting promotion be the reward of faithful service;

Third, requiring every Consul to begin at the beginning and pass all the grades;

Fourth, requiring him to pass a thorough examination for the place; and,

Fifth, no candidate to be received over 25 years of age.

If you should be in Washington, I hope you will find time to call at the State Department and run your eye over it. If we cannot give more permanency to our civil administration than we have been doing for the past thirty years, our Constitution is a failure. I think, however, that we can. The officers of the Army and Navy do not change with every administration, for the simple reason that everybody sees you can have no Army or Navy on such terms. Recent events have given a new importance to our foreign service, and I think the public may be readily made to realize the necessity of removing the great element of feebleness to which I refer and which is so fatal to its efficiency.

I think the time has come for an agitation of this question,

[1] One of the editors of the *Boston Advertiser*.

and I would give a great deal for an hour's talk with you upon the subject.

I am aware that I may not seem to be in the best position to advocate this reform with effect, though I think you will acquit me of any desire or intention to remain in this or any other public office a moment longer than I am obliged to by a decent respect for the wishes of my superiors.

The great difficulty of accomplishing a reform of the evil I speak of, has been that to carry it out requires the active support of the Administration and of the opposition combined; while the opposition always prefer that it should not begin until they have the power and a reasonable share of the patronage. The present time is more favorable than any other, that has occurred or is likely to occur, for making a new departure. Party divisions are obliterated; the offices are filled pretty indiscriminately from all political denominations, and the country can be readily made to realize, if it does not already, the need of trained men in the civil administration. It would be policy to begin with the foreign service, in order not to combine too large a political interest against the movement. If it succeeded, the rest would soon follow. Would not this be a good topic for the *Atlantic,* and oh! if Mr. Everett would take hold of it and wing it with his eloquence to the ends of the Republic! It is to render this reform possible that the war is now worth continuing, for slavery is dead enough. With this reform all others are possible; without it, none are.

Yours, etc.

BIGELOW TO MRS. CHARLES S. BUTLER

PARIS, March 11, 1864.

Dear Mrs. Butler:[1]

I was very much gratified and flattered by your note, which reached me at a time when I was a close prisoner at the bedside of my wife, who is only just recovering from an eight

[1] Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sedgwick.

weeks' confinement with typhoid fever. That is my excuse for delaying an answer to your favor until now, though I lost no time in forwarding its enclosure to Count Gasparin, who lives near Geneva in Switzerland.

The illness of my wife has prevented my taking as active a part, in behalf of your Fair, here as I would have wished, but notwithstanding you will receive a good report from us. I wish I could be enrolled upon your editorial staff, but unhappily Mr. Seward has formally forbidden the Dipl. and Cons. Corps from corresponding with the press. If you will get him to modify his circular, so as to make of your journal an exception, I will see if my newspaper faculty has not gone out of me. I suspect it has, and that whatever good or evil I am ever to do as a journalist has been done.

I heard the news of your mother's death with profound sensibility. As you know, I felt great affection and admiration for her, and I know what a place she left vacant in your domestic circle when she departed. But it is my comfort to believe that no one ever died too soon and that under the Providence of God we may be just as useful by dying as by living.

Mr. Evarts spent last evening with me and left for Italy this morning. We were very much shocked here last week by a summons to attend the funeral of Madame Hauteville (Bessy Fish), who died suddenly at Marseilles from a premature confinement. Nothing could have been more unexpected to her or her family. The physician who was sent for from Paris, but who did not arrive until a few hours after her decease, has intimated, I am told, that her confinement would have proved fatal to her in any event. She seemed to have more than most people to live for, which may have been one of the reasons why she was taken from its temptations mercifully.

There has been a great deal of sickness in Paris this winter. Nearly all of my family have been ill in turn, though none so seriously as my wife, who, never having been sick before, did not know that anything was the matter until the disease had had a week the start of the Doctor. Mrs. Hahnemann attended her, as charming an old lady as you ever saw, and I think a most excellent physician.

Mr. Dayton, our Minister, has been very ill also. He was

attacked on the morning of the 22d of February (Washington's Birthday), with invitations out for a grand ball in the evening, which he was unable to attend.

When I read the accounts of what the Sanitary Commission is doing in the United States, I feel more proud than ever of my countrymen and countrywomen. The effects of our war in enlarging the sphere of duty and in exalting the purposes of the American people are not to be lightly estimated. I only hope their ingenuity in manufacturing money and in mitigating the horrors of the battlefield may not make you indifferent as to its duration. I also hope we shall have some strength reserved for the trials of peace, which will be of no ordinary character.

Please remember us to Mr. Butler and all your family, and let us not be forgotten.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

My dear Friend:

. . . . . .

These are times when a man can afford to keep silent without pleading ignorance; for the future, the immediate future, seems big with important events to the world. The universal expectation here is a general war before next summer is passed. The Roman Catholic party counts confidently upon an Italian war. They expect Austria to attack Italy. The Republicans say they nose change in the air and recognize in the unusual cheerfulness of the people presages of a great movement of some kind.

But for Earl Russell's declining to come to our Emperor's party, I think your guns would have been heard in the German Ocean before this. Our Emperor is determined to make the state of peace as uncomfortable as possible to England and no doubt discourages the depredations making and to be made by the German States. I see it stated that Mr. Cobden is to be Secretary of the Post Office or something of that kind. Is there anything of the kind contemplated? If I had the faith

of St. Thomas, I might believe it. *Credo quia incredibile est.* I suspect it is a *canard.* Has Earl Russell discovered that we are fighting for anything but territorial aggrandizement in the United States yet? It is a curious fact that the Abolitionists proper in the United States do not pretend to put the candidature of Mr. Chase upon the ground that he is a more advanced Anti-Slavery man than Mr. Lincoln, which shows that the government, if it has not led, has at least kept at the heels of public opinion.

Give our love to your family,

Yours, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Unofficial

Paris, March 11, 1864.

My dear Sir:

Felix Aucaigne, who boasts of having taught Mrs. Burnside and Mrs. General Sprague French and who has been paid by de Leon to write the most scurrilous things about the United States in the *Patrie* of this city, came to me to-day to be bought out. De Leon has been deposed from his position as Confederate agent for the press, and no one has as yet been appointed to his place. Aucaigne, I suppose, found his pay becoming precarious, though he pretends that the North was not anti-slavery enough for him, but now he thinks she will do, and his conscience (?) compels him to support her cause.

He wants $2,000.00 to go to the United States and write letters twice a week to the *Patrie.* Of course I did not employ him; I mention his call rather as an evidence of the rate at which instinctive prudence is beginning to develop itself among the instruments of Secessia. He will probably present himself in Washington for a job, but I doubt if he is able to render us much service.

Yours very truly

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 16 March, 1864.

Sir:

Since my last of 5th inst. the Archduke Maximilian has made his visit to Paris. He remained here a week. On his arrival I advised M. Gutierrez de Estrada of my desire to see the Archduke on important business. M. Gutierrez accordingly mentioned my wish and was informed that the Archduke would be pleased to see me and that I would probably very soon receive a notice from his Secretary to that effect; this he communicated to me in writing. Not receiving the notice and learning that the stay of the Archduke in Paris would be shorter than was generally anticipated, I addressed the Secretary, enclosing the note of M. Gutierrez informing me of the intention of the Archduke to receive me, and asked for an audience. To this no reply was made. I am told that as regards this apparent discourtesy I had no cause to complain, as the applications for audiences had been so numerous as to make it impossible to answer any of them. Be this as it may, I considered the refusal or rather the avoiding of the Archduke to hear what I had to say as very significant, as it may fairly be presumed that my application had not been overlooked, but that he had considered it inexpedient to see me. This presumption is strengthened by a fact which I have heard from a reliable source.

M. Mercier declares that at his parting interview with Lincoln he was *told by Lincoln that he was authorized to say to the Archduke that his Government would be recognized by that of Washington without difficulty, on the condition, however, that no negotiations should be entered into with the Confederate States.* This assurance, repeated to the Archduke by M. Mercier, has probably influenced his course towards me, and he is weak and credulous enough to think he can keep on good terms with the Yankees, while he can at any time, in case of need, command the friendship and support of the Confederacy.

I have taken care, of course in no offensive terms, to let the leading Mexicans here understand that he makes a great mistake, both as regards his hope of avoiding difficulties with the North and his reliance upon the South to aid him in meeting them should they occur; that without the actual friendship of the South he will be entirely powerless to resist Northern aggression, while he, in his turn, can render us no service in the present or any future war with the North; that our motive in desiring to negotiate with Mexico was not the expectation of desiring any advantage from an alliance "per se," but from the consequences that would probably flow from it in another

quarter; that when we should have conquered peace, while we would desire to be on friendly terms with all nations, we should have no special interest in the stability of the Mexican Government, and would be free to pursue such a policy as circumstances and our interests might dictate.

As the newspapers have spoken of General Preston's mission to Mexico, I have not thought it worth while to make a mystery of it, and I have said that if he be not officially received any future overtures for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two Governments must come from Mexico.

I have written fully to General Preston, directed to Havana under cover to Colonel Helm. I am in hopes that my letter will find him there, when, with a knowledge of what has occurred here, he can decide whether he will proceed at once to Mexico or take measures to ascertain in advance what reception he will probably meet with.

The Archduke will, it is thought, embark at Civita-Vecchia early next month and reach Vera Cruz about 1st May. In my interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on 19th ult. he manifested great dissatisfaction at the tardiness of the Archduke's movements, and said that he ought then to be far on his way to Mexico. I think there is a great anxiety to see him embark, and thus so completely committed as to render it impossible to further exaggerate the unpopularity of the Mexican expedition among all classes and parties in France. It is the only subject upon which the public opinion seems to be unanimous. I have yet to meet the first man who approves of it, and several persons very near the Emperor have spoken to me of it in decided terms of condemnation. The Emperor is fully aware of this feeling and is, I believe, very desirous to get rid of the embarrassment as soon as he decently can. The Archduke may be obliged to rely on his own resources at a much earlier day than he expects. In this opinion I may perhaps do the Emperor injustice, but I cannot otherwise account for the evidently increased desire to avoid giving umbrage to the Lincoln Government.

. . . . . .

Your most obedient servant

When, many years after it was written, this letter came into my possession, I felt so entirely satisfied that the statement attributed to M. Mercier, that at his parting interview "he was told by Lincoln that he was authorized to say to the Archduke [Maximilian] that his Government would be recog-

nized by that of Washington without difficulty, on the condition, however, that no negotiations should be entered into with the Confederate States,'' was either false, or that he had been incorrectly quoted by Slidell, that I invited his Excellency Mr. Henry White, our Ambassador at Paris, to apply to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France for a copy of M. Mercier's letter, if any such letter exists. To this letter I received the reply that it was too early to obtain copies of official documents from the Archives of France referring to a period so recent as our Civil War. But, from the examination of Mercier's correspondence, Mr. White was authorized to say that Mercier had no farewell interview with President Lincoln, but that in a conversation *with the Secretary of the Treasury* he was told that the United States would not interfere against Mexico if France did not recognize the Confederate States.

The Secretary of the Treasury during M. Mercier's official residence in the United States was Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, whose statements in conversation with M. Mercier may have been, and probably were, more liberally construed than their utterance warranted. The following is a copy of Mr. White's letter:

HON. HENRY WHITE TO BIGELOW

American Embassy,
Paris, February 15th, 1909.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Your letter of December 24th duly reached me, and I hope you have not attributed the delay in answering it to any neglect on my part of a request of yours, which would always have priority with me over anything else. But doubtless in your day they were not very rapid movers in the official departments of this country, and, as far as I can find, there has been no particular change in that respect up to the present period, which will account for the fact that it has taken all this time to ascertain:

1. That it is not possible at present to obtain a copy of any official documents in the Archives of this country referring to the period of our Civil War.

2. That I have succeeded in causing an examination to be made of the correspondence of Baron Mercier de l'Ostende, or M. Mercier as I believe he was called when he first came to our country, whom I remember very well, as he spent a summer at the country place of my grandparents.

3. From this examination it transpires that M. Mercier did not have a farewell interview with President Lincoln, because he went away on a leave of absence, from which it was supposed at the time of his departure that he would return to resume the duties of his post at Washington. He was, however, so far as my memory goes, transferred to Spain as Minister.

4. In none of his letters is any statement of the nature you mention to be found. He states, however, in one of them that in a conversation with the Secretary of the Treasury, who at that time was thinking of floating a loan in France, he was told that the United States would not interfere against Maximilian if France did not recognize the Confederate States.

From all of which it would seem that you are perfectly justified in the belief that President Lincoln never made any such statement as the one attributed to him by Mr. Slidell in 1864. I may add that M. Vignaud has no recollection of anything of the kind, either.

With regard to the last paragraph of your letter, I can only say that it will at all times give me the very greatest pleasure to be of any service or to obtain any information for you here or elsewhere.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, March 24, 1864.

My dear Sir:

M. Aucaigne came back the day after his visit mentioned in my note of the 11th inst. to know my answer. He wanted an additional $100.00 a month.

I told him that upon reflection I did not see any advantage likely to result from the conversion of the *Patrie* to our side so

long as its proprietors felt they could afford to write in defence of the Confederates; that the official and officious journals had rendered us a substantial service by the course they had taken, for they had identified themselves and their cause in the public mind with the propagation of Slavery, than which there was nothing which the French people were more unanimous in condemning. The *Patrie* and kindred journals, I said, have made clear what journals friendly to us had not succeeded in doing, that every word uttered in defence of the South was a word in behalf of Slavery, and that was precisely the issue we wished to make. So successfully have they done their work that with every disposition in the world, on the part of his government, to find a pretext for openly befriending the South, it had never been able to escape the responsibility of encouraging Slavery in whatever direction it took its first steps. As an evidence of what I said I called his attention to the fact that though the Legislative Corps was filled with people interested in dividing us and, if not, ready to obey the behests of the government, whatever their nature, yet not one word had been lisped, either in the Imperial address or in the reply or in the debates, in favor of the Confederates or to the prejudice of the Federals, throughout the current session, and even Arman had been compelled to withdraw his amendment without a word, the President not even mentioning its title, but simply saying, "Amendment No. —— is withdrawn," so that the press and public should not notice the retreat.

Under these circumstances I told him that on the whole it was not worth my while to spend my money on the *Patrie,* when Confederate money did our work so satisfactorily. He was surprised and disappointed; proposed to go to Washington and see you, and wanted to know what you would probably say to his proposition. I told him that, if he got a chance to make his proposal to you, you would probably tell him that you were not an editor of a newspaper, and that if he had a pen to sell he had better take it to those who dealt in that article. He left me, and I have not heard of him since.

I have gone into these details in view of the possibility of his turning up in Washington. If he does go, it will be because the Confederates have made up their minds that the money spent on journals here is not well invested or that they have no more to invest. Both probably.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO D'OREMIEULX[1]

PARIS, March 24, 1864.

My dear d'Oremieulx:

In this enclosure you will find:

1st, A *pacquet* from Victor Hugo.

2nd, Some autographs given me from his own correspondence by M. Elisée Reclus, one of the collaborateurs of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* and a most efficient friend of the Union.

3d, Another bundle of autographs presented to me by M. Chassin, through the intermediation of M. Reclus. They all possess a certain value here, and I think most of them will be appreciated in New York; especially those of Michelet and Gasparin.

I hope you will see that both these gentlemen are properly thanked for their contributions by some authorized officer of the Fair.

I have not been able to do as much for the Fair as I should have done, on account of the illness of my wife, who just begins to ride out after an illness of more than two months, during most of which time I have been a close prisoner. Fortunately there is no reason to suppose that my efforts will be missed. The success of the Fair will be monumental, from all I can learn.

I am getting together material for an article in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* in April or May, on the Sanitary Commission, which Reclus will write. I wish you would ask Mr. Bellows to get some one to send me a detailed statement of receipts of all kinds and net results as far as possible of all the fairs, including the New York fair as far as realized up to the 1st of April, and again of the New York fair the moment it is over. These facts I can use here to great advantage, and any others of a like character in behalf of the Commission.

You will please remember Mrs. Bigelow and myself to Madame d'Oremieulx, and accept for yourself my most cordial salutations.

Yours very truly

[1] M. d'Oremieulx was prominently interested in the management of a fair in New York, organized for the relief of soldiers wounded in the war and their families.

The author of the following letter was a Roman Catholic bishop of South Carolina, who was about setting out for Rome on a mission from the Confederate Government, the purposes of which, as we have already seen, had been in a measure anticipated if not superseded by Mr. Mann. We shall hear again from this functionary in Paris on his return from his mission in 1866.

BISHOP P. N. LYNCH TO BENJAMIN

CHARLESTON, S. C., 25th March, 1864.

Sir:

Since my return to Charleston, I have devoted my time to the task of such arrangements as are required by my approaching departure —a task which the recent acts of Congress on the currency and the taxes have rendered onerous and puzzling. Still I anticipate that I will be in Richmond on the day indicated by you—April 5th perhaps, or the 4th.

General Wise has written to me on the subject of Mr. W. C. Chapman going out as Secretary, and the young gentleman has called on me on the same.

I explained my own purposes. I intended, unless otherwise instructed, to procure a secretary in Europe—a person of standing, and who could write Italian and French well.

Mr. Chapman explains that what he desires is the Secretaryship during the trip to Rome, leaving me as free to choose another secretary there as if this appointment were not made.

In this view, his appointment would be perfectly agreeable to me, and I stated so much to Genl. Wise, and left it to him and Mr. Chapman to arrange the matter with you.

The suite of a Bishop travelling consists properly of two persons, a chaplain and a servant. I have chosen the first, a Rev. Mr. Renouf, a French clergyman, who will accompany me. I have not selected a body-servant, and may not do so. But I presume there will be no difficulty in allowing both a passage in the same vessel I go on to Bermuda.

I have also written to Hon. S. R. Mallory, asking the privilege of taking out five bales of cotton in the same vessel, with a view of covering some personal expenses, or to meet any emergency that may arise.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

RICHMOND, 16 April, 1864.

Sir:

Your last dispatch received is No. 56 of the 16th February, which came to hand on the 4th instant. The interval of two months is longer than has occurred for more than a year past and is regretted the more, as matters of great interest to us were pending and numerous reports calculated to excite solicitude as to the present attitude of the Imperial Government reach us from the Northern journals. I will not conceal from you that the President is greatly disappointed at the information contained in your No. 56. Grave doubt even is entertained of the good faith of the high personage by whose sanction and advice we engaged in an undertaking which promised results of the greatest importance. A severe blow has been dealt us from a quarter whence it was least expected, and a corresponding revulsion of feeling towards that personage has resulted.

Mr. Mallory has written to the officers charged with these matters that we have concluded against the propriety of selling any of the vessels in progress of construction. I hope that his instructions will arrive in time to prevent the sale. Our conclusion is of course based on the supposition that according to French law there is no risk of the loss or confiscation of these vessels, and that the only hazard involved in keeping them is that they will not be allowed to go to sea. We prefer in such case taking our chances of some change of circumstances or policy. The length of time required for the construction of ironclads in particular is so great that we would be inexcusable in abandoning all the chances of future contingencies of getting back the money already expended, or avoiding the further expense of finishing them. It is deemed by the President much more prudent to have the vessels promptly completed and ready for service at any moment, should the adverse influences which now prevail give place to other counsels.

You will receive herewith a Treasury Draft for five hundred pounds sterling from the fund at the disposal of the Department for secret service, of which no account is to be rendered to the Treasury. Where you can properly take vouchers, they should accompany the account you will render to this Department of the expenditure; for items not susceptible of being vouched, you will render a certificate on honor of the payment.

I have just heard of the arrival at City Point (about forty miles, I believe, below Richmond) of a French War Steamer and two mer-

chantmen, which come doubtless for the purpose of taking the tobacco belonging to the Imperial Government, and which will be delivered in accordance with our promise.

April 18th.

Your No. 57 of 5 March has just come to hand. It is the duplicate; the original not yet received. The change of tone indicated by you as having marked your interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, together with the tenor of the remarks attributed to Lord Palmerston, seem to be of some significance as would have been attached to such utterances at an early period of the war. It has been perhaps fortunate for us, notwithstanding the awful price paid in the blood of our best and bravest, that European powers have remained so inconceivably blind to their own interests in this great struggle. The end is now seen to be approaching, and we shall enter the family of nations with a consciousness that we have achieved our own success, not simply unaided even by sympathy, but in spite of the unfriendly and, in some cases, hostile attitude of the Great Powers of Europe. We shall have no favors to reciprocate, but many wrongs to forget, some perhaps for which to exact redress. I never felt a more thorough conviction than I now entertain that the year 1864 will witness our honorable welcome into the family of nations, won by the conclusive demonstration of the inability of the North to continue a contest in which its resources, both of men and money, will have been exhausted in vain.

. . . . . .

I refrain from any remark on the subject of the *Rappahannock* until you are able to communicate the answer of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to your note on the subject.

I am, very respectfully

BIGELOW TO HIRAM BARNEY, COLLECTOR OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK

Paris, April 21, 1864.

My dear Barney:

On the 1st of January last I issued an order requiring merchants shipping goods to the United States to deposit samples of such as were *sampleable* with their duplicate invoices. The step was taken deliberately upon the advice and special request of Mr. Gibbs and with the cordial approval of several of the largest and most respectable shippers from this place.

Last week I received a letter from the State Department, covering an opinion from the Treasury that I had no authority to require or to take any other steps to satisfy myself that the declarations made in the invoices, which I verified, are true. This opinion, however, was accompanied with no positive instructions, and as I felt convinced that it was given under a misapprehension, and if taken literally would render all Consular interference useless in this kind of business, I chose to wait farther instructions before relinquishing the rule. Meantime I sent on by the last mail my reasons for issuing the order and what I regard as most abundant evidence of its efficiency, as illustrated in the single case of Messrs. Bankhart & Hutton, who are in the habit of invoicing their goods at from 20 to 25 per cent. below their value in this market. I chose them for my illustration, for it appeared from my dispatch that it was upon their complaint that the Treasury had acted.

To-day an invoice was presented by their agent, and when asked for the samples, he referred me to the opinion of the Treasury Department. I told him I had received no orders to abandon the rule I had established and must therefore require samples. He said he should in that case send the goods without invoices and take his chance. I told him that if he succeeded in entering them he would save the price of Consular certificates, and bade him Godspeed.

I mention these facts to you that you may be prepared, and to say that you will find, I think, in my report to the State Department abundant reason for doubting whether Messrs. B. & H. are entitled to any considerable indulgence from the Department, and will understand why I can in no other way than by examination of samples satisfy myself of the correctness or want of correctness of the declarations made in their invoices.

Yours very truly

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

RICHMOND, 23 April, 1864.

Sir:

Your account of the line of conduct pursued by the Archduke in Paris has been carefully weighed, and, taken in connection with the fact of the refusal to accord an interview to M. Mercier, leaves us

much in doubt as to the true significance of his failure to have a conference with you, after having intimated through M. Estrada his purpose to invite your visit. It had long been foreseen by us that Mr. Seward would hesitate at no promises in order to postpone the evil day which is approaching with such giant strides, when the whole structure of the North will topple from its sandy foundation, and our recognition be forced not only upon neutrals buf upon the enemy, by the strength, valor and fortitude of our people. Every hour produces fresh evidence of the early and disastrous breakdown in Northern resources, both of men and money, and our day of happy deliverance is seen to be dawning by those even who have hitherto been despondent. The contrast between our armies and those of the enemy in dash, spirit and confidence is amazing and is displayed so strikingly as to produce marked effect on the spirit of the people in the two countries. You cannot fail to be impressed with the wonderful change in the tone of the public journals North and South. But Europe is still as blind as ever and hugs with fondness the delusive promises of the U. S. Secretary of State, and if it be true that the conduct of the Archduke has been influenced by the Emperor, and that the latter in turn has been influenced by Mr. Seward, the absence of the sagacity that has heretofore characterized the Imperial policy is indeed remarkable. It is therefore difficult to believe that the Emperor can have leaned on so feeble a reed as the promises made by the Northern Cabinet; a reed which has already broken and pierced his hand, as shown by the unanimous vote of the House of Representatives on the subject of Maximilian's recognition.

The fact, however, of the silence of the Archduke and his sudden departure from Paris after the previous interchange of his views with us through unofficial communications, and the conduct of the French Government in detaining the *Rappahannock*, are indications of a submission to Northern dictation similar to that which has marked the course of the British Cabinet and inflicted on us wrongs which have exasperated our people almost beyond the limits of endurance. It is therefore with extreme solicitude that we await the answer of the Government to your demand in relation to the *Rappahannock*. If it should be unfavorable, my own impression is that we should not only pursue without hesitation the course indicated by you of striking her flag and leaving her to the disposal of the French Government on its responsibility, but that we should secure for ourselves adequate indemnity by *seizing and detaining the French tobacco here*. My only fear is that the news from you on this subject will arrive too late to enable us to give full effect to such a measure, as the *French ships are now taking the tobacco*, and may be *ready to depart* before receipt of your next dispatch. It is proper to add that this suggestion is exclusively personal to myself, and that I have no knowledge of the

President's views on the subject, not yet having taken his directions, and being unwilling to occupy his attention (already over-taxed by his numerous duties) with this matter, unless a decision shall become necessary by reason of the persistent detention of the *Rappahannock*.

I am, very respectfully, etc.

P. S. Have this moment received the news of the decision in the *Alexandra*. Also Earl Russell's statement in the House of Lords on the 5th instant, that the forged report of our Secretary of the Navy was the *invention of a gentleman*.

LORD PALMERSTON TO VIDAURRI

Translation

London, 20 April [1864].

Mr. Governor:

I have received your dispatch of the 2d instant.

The sentiments of gratitude of the South in respect of Mexico are entirely reciprocated (*bien partagé*).

Enclosed are the two bonds on the Treasury which you solicit in favor of Signor Pike of Matamoras and Takroz d'Eaglipan.

You perfectly understand that I cannot remit to you the letters which compromise you with your Government; they are my guaranties for your fidelity.

Receive, etc.

MASON TO ——

Translation

29th April [1864].

My dear ——:

Make the offer of $10,000 for the two authentic notes of Seward and Lincoln.[1]

[1] The reader is left to conjecture the contents of these notes that were deemed worth $5000 apiece by the Confederate commissioner.

Charge De Reuter to procure the pieces of Corwin,[1] who will quit Vera Cruz before the 20th of May, by virtue of leave of absence.

Dayton is fooled by Drouyn. I send the proofs of it by the first courier.

MASON TO PRINCE GALITZIN

Translation

BRUSSELS, Friday evening.

Dear De Galitzin:

Drouyn de Lhuys is altogether disposed in our favor. We have the most formal assurance of it. I hasten to announce this good news.

Your courier of yesterday has been received.

Write immediately to Becker not to quit Juarez a single instant and to inform Beauregard of all.

Dayton has been received very coldly by the Minister. Drouyn has said to him: "Is it war or peace that you desire?" This was significant.

Good-by; I am hurried.

Yours

Vidaurri was governor of the province of Nuevo Leon in 1856. In 1858 he attached himself to the fortunes of Juarez, signalizing himself by his valor, vigor and exertions. He shared in the fighting and triumph of the Juarists over Miramon and established a semi-independent government, of which he was the chief, over the provinces of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila. Early in 1863 he abandoned Juarez, doubtless yielding to the inducements offered by Palmerston and referred to in the preceding note, and endeavored to gain these provinces to Maximilian. In 1866 he became Minister of War and Finance, and later President of the Council, with the portfolio of finance. At the fall of Maximilian in June, 1867, Vidaurri was arrested and shot without a trial.

[1] Mr. Corwin had been Minister of the United States in Mexico.

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

RICHMOND, 30 April, 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

We have sent Jacob Thompson of Mississippi and Clement C. Clay of Alabama to Canada on secret service, in the hope of aiding the disruption between the Eastern and Western States in the approaching election at the North. It is supposed that much good can be done by the purchase of some of the principal presses, especially in the North-West.

I am, very respectfully, etc.

The following letter was written to our Consul at Nantes on behalf of the *Phare,* a newspaper published in that city. It had been conducted in cordial sympathy with the Union cause during the war and had been encouraged by me as opportunity offered.

BIGELOW TO JOHN DE LA MONTAGNIE

PARIS, May 2, 1864.

My dear Montagnie:

It would have given me great pleasure to have given that correspondence to the *Phare,* but if I had offered it I doubt if they would have taken the responsibility of its publication, for the responsibility was very considerable and rested entirely upon the paper. In fifteen minutes' conversation I could satisfy you or the Messrs. Mangin, whose devotion I cordially appreciate, that I could not have acted differently from what I have done. Those reasons, however, I do not feel at liberty to write. It will be enough for you to state that the editor of the *Opinion Nationale* is a fellow deputy with M. Arman and that it was for his enlightenment as deputy that the documents were placed at his disposal to be used on his double responsi-

bility as journalist and deputy, and his alone. I think you will be able to imagine from this that there were reasons enough for the events occurring as they have occurred.

I will suggest to you some points for an article in the *Phare* apropos of these disclosures, which would probably command quite as much of the public attention as the documents.

1. The documents show that these vessels are building for the Confederates, with every prospect of reaching their destination.

2. If they escape, within 30 days after the news reaches New York armed vessels will begin to leave that port with commissions from *Juarez,* faster ones too than any vessel in the French navy. What effect five or ten such vessels, not to say twenty or thirty, would have upon the Mediterranean and South American commerce of France it would not be difficult to imagine to those who have kept the run of the *Alabama, Florida* and *Georgia.*

3. In case of scant crops this Fall France must rely upon the United States or the Black Sea for her grain. But both of these sources of supply would be cut off if we were provoked to adopt French construction of neutral obligations.

4. If, as would inevitably be the case, war between France and the United States resulted, France would find no vulnerable point to assail us within 3,000 miles of ocean navigation, for we have no commerce left for her cruisers to feed upon. If she broke up our blockade, she would simply release fifty or sixty more war vessels to chase her merchantmen.

5. She could recognize the South, but we could sustain Juarez. We would hardly miss the 50,000 men from our Western frontier, who could not be prevented from marching through Texas and rallying the Mexicans against their conquerors. In fact, California alone, I think, would take care of that.

6. We have ascertained that Petroleum oil can be used in the Navy instead of coal, and the Secretary is now building a vessel of war to be propelled by the use of that kind of fuel. With such an improvement a steamer could steam around the world without stopping to "wood up." Our privateers therefore could drive every merchant vessel of France from the seas, which would ruin her commerce, prostrate her indirectly, and bring starvation into half the cottages of France. How

long this dynasty could stand such trials as these is another question not difficult to answer; to use a bit of not very chaste Western rhetoric, about as long as the head of that dynasty could hold his hand in the fire.

Granting, what no doubt every Frenchman would claim, that one French soldier can whip five soldiers of any foreign country, the question is, would the present government last long enough to whip us under so many inconveniences?

Yours very truly

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

Sir: PARIS, 2d May, 1864.

. . . . . .

M. Mercier says that the assurances given by Mr. Lincoln, mentioned in my No. 58, will be carried out, and, unwilling to admit himself to have been duped, naturally endeavors to impress that opinion upon others. I regret to be compelled to say that I have changed my estimate as to that gentleman's character. I had believed him to have strong sympathies with our cause, and that any influence he could exercise would be in our favor. I have now good reason to believe that, desiring to be "all things to all men," he avows Northern or Southern preferences as he may suppose the expression of the one or the other will be most agreeable to those with whom he converses.

. . . . . .

Since my last £20,200 7 per cent. cotton bonds have been presented to me for conversion and cancelled, negotiations are in progress at London which if matured will lead to the conversion of a large additional quantity of them, and by raising the current price improve the credit of the Government.

The two ironclad ships building at Bordeaux have been sold to the Swedish Government at prices which will reimburse in full their cost and leave a small margin of profit; but, as M. Arman has contracted to deliver them in Swedish waters, they will not be paid until so delivered. The sale of one of these ships is positive; that of *the other is intended to cover an arrangement by which it is hoped to utilize her for the original purpose.* The builders of the corvettes are very confident of getting two of them to sea and placing their armament on board at convenient points.

. . . . . .

Your most obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, May 3rd, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I sent you by the last mail a copy of the *Opinion Nationale* of Saturday, 30th April, containing the article on the Confederate steamers building in France. M. Guéroult asked M. Rouher, a few hours before the paper was to appear, for his answer, proffered two days previous on behalf of the government, to the implications of the article. M. Rouher replied that he had spoken to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Marine, whom the subject more particularly concerned, and he said they were occupied with the subject and would do whatever was proper to be done, etc. M. Guéroult replied that he must have something more definite than that, and so they parted and the article appeared.

The next day M. Boudet, the Minister of the Interior, sent for M. Guéroult, scolded him for devoting so much space in his paper to the prejudice of the shipbuilding of France, which the government was trying in every way to encourage, said that M. Arman threatened to proceed against the government in the courts if it interfered with his ships, which were built for commercial purposes, etc. M. Guéroult replied that M. Arman had no case at law; that he was a liar and the truth was not in him; that he pretended without a shadow of foundation to be building these ships first for one government and then for another; that it was the duty of the government at all risk to arrest these vessels, which certainly would compromise the friendly relations of France with the United States if they escaped, and that the government should have no difficulty in choosing between the hostility of M. Arman and the hostility of the United States.

The following day M. Boudet sent again for M. Guéroult and went over the same ground, showing the greatest solicitude to prevent any farther discussion of the matter. Meantime he had made use of the ample means in his hands for securing that result, by notifying the official journals that it was the pleasure of the government that no allusion should be made

to the subject in any way whatever, and by circulating the report among the opposition prints that M. Arman had instituted legal proceedings against M. Guéroult for what he had already printed. Hence the utter and absolute silence of the city press upon this matter, which, however, has produced a profound sensation among the members of the Corps Législatif and disturbed the government, as I have explained.

In order to be ahead of the government I sent a copy of the *Opinion* the evening it appeared to Montagnie[1] at Nantes, requesting him to have it in the *Phare de la Loire,* where it appeared in full the next day. So that the necessary publicity is now assured to it. What the effect will be I am unable to say, but it is the opinion of persons more competent than myself to judge, that the government will be compelled to abandon the protection of Messrs. Arman and Voruz and to put themselves right very soon on the subject before the Corps Législatif and the country.

I told you that the Mexican loan had proved a failure, but the failure was more complete than I had suspected. It is the custom here in subscribing for government loans for the subscriber to put down his name for three or four times more than he wants, as the excess subscribed over the sum required has always rendered it necessary to cut down each individual subscription about in that proportion. So if a man wants 100,000 francs he subscribes for 500,000, and if he wants 10,000 he subscribes for 40 or 50,000, and so on. The resolution of the House of Representatives about Mexico reached here in the midst of the subscriptions. All the large subscriptions ceased abruptly, and when the lists were examined it was found that, taking all the subscriptions at their full amount, they had received about one-third of the amount advertised for, barely enough to cover the sum allotted to the indemnification of France. The government immediately gave orders to award the full amount to each subscriber, and, what is worse, it was directed that the full amounts should at once be paid. The consequence was that many of limited means who had only expected an allotment of a fraction of their subscription were obliged to sell out, and hence a fall in the quotations of the loan yesterday of 3½%, and unless the government interferes there will be another fall to-day.

[1] Our Consul at Nantes.

Apropos of Mexico you will find in the Paris papers a paragraph taken from the *Moniteur,* stating that the Emperor has received from the United States Government satisfactory explanations of the resolutions of the House of Representatives. That paragraph appeared in the columns of the *Petit Moniteur,* which commenced on the 1st of May and the first number of which was signalized by this paragraph, which did *not* appear in the morning edition.

I cannot but regret that Mr. Dayton had any authority to furnish a pretext for this article, as the subject stood very well here where the House and the *Senate* left it. I think the resolution was having a wholesome effect here. The government is disposed to presume upon our embarrassment, and we encourage them by a tone of propitiation and courtesy which has precisely the contrary effect from that designed. They are, in point of fact, in greater embarrassment than ourselves; they can bear nothing which affects their credit, and the least demonstration from the United States they feel in every fibre, as was shown by the nervous concern of the official journals about that resolution and by the fate of the loan, while the opposition would be much more courageous in reference to American affairs if they could feel sure of an ally in the American government. But when they read your charming compliments to the French government, and of its good dispositions toward us, while they know it is doing all it can to cut our throats, they are indisposed to venture an attack. I think you will find before you get on much farther with this government that you will have to take a more decisive tone with it and require from it less temporising and equivocation. At least I am convinced that that is the surest and quickest way of bringing public opinion to bear here in our favor on one or two questions. Pardon me if your shoemaker has gone beyond his last. You expect me to give you frankly my impressions in regard to matters of public concern, and I am anxious you should not be misled with soft words (and nothing else) with which your representative at this court has been entertained ever since his arrival here.

Yours very sincerely

The allusion in the foregoing letter to an article in *L'Opinion Nationale* was based upon the accompanying report brought to me by M. Malespine, the writer on that paper specially in charge of American affairs. M. Guéroult was the editor-in-chief of *L'Opinion Nationale,* the most independent daily paper then publishing in Paris.

REPORT OF CONVERSATION AT THE CORPS LÉGISLATIF

Wednesday, 27th April [1864].

Before the publication of an article entitled "Les Corsaires du Sud," M. Guéroult showed the proof to M. Arman, their builder and also a member of the Corps Législatif.

This is the substance of the conversation that ensued:

M. Guéroult: "As you are my colleague in the Corps Législatif, I do not wish to publish an article involving a grave accusation of you without apprising you of it. My motive is to provide you with the means of defending yourself, if you have a serious defence to offer. What I wish is light and not scandal."

M. Arman read the article, appeared much affected by it, and said: "All that is old. The transactions to which you direct my attention remount to 1863. All is much changed since then."

M. Guéroult: "Have you, yes or no, been constructing vessels for the account of the Confederates?"

M. Arman: "Yes, but there is no longer anything in common between the Confederates and me. I have very large interests compromised. I desire to secure them, and I am anxious to sell to some government."

M. Guéroult: "Of two things one. Either you will give me authentic proof incontestable that the ships are not for the Confederates, or I publish."

M. Arman: "I am at the present time negotiating with M. Rosales, as my intermediary, to sell to the Government of Chili."

M. Guéroult: "You are well aware that you are not furnishing the proof which I ask of you, consequently I shall make every effort, by publication or otherwise, to prevent the ships from sailing. I do not intend that for a private interest our relations with the United States shall be compromised. I will publish the letter."

M. Guéroult afterward called upon M. Rouher, Minister of State,

and informed him of what had passed between him and M. Arman. M. Rouher affected astonishment, saying that he was much surprised that events so grave should happen; that he would have, the following day, Thursday, an interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys and with M. Chasseloup-Laubat, and he would then give M. Guéroult a positive reply. It was agreed that the publication of the article should be delayed. M. Rouher did not give a response the next day, nor has he even spoke of the affair since.

The article appeared in the *Opinion Nationale* Friday evening, 29th April.

Both the Minister of State and the Minister of Marine, having nothing to say, said it.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

WASHINGTON, May 5, 1864.

Sir:

I thank you for giving me in your dispatch of April 22d, No. 23, extracts from the articles in the French Press on the subject of the resolution of the House of Representatives concerning the events which are going on in Mexico.

I trust that before this time you will have learned from Mr. Dayton the view of that proceeding which the President has thought proper to adopt.

The war of the French against Mexico is of course a source of continued irritation. The House of Representatives responds promptly to a popular impulse which is as strong as it is universal. Nevertheless, it will be seen in this case, as it was in the affair of the *Trent,* that the Nation can act with all the circumspection and deliberation which a regard to its condition of distraction and war and social revolution requires.

I might say to you confidentially, if it were entirely wise to say anything unnecessary, that those who are most impatient for the defeat of European and monarchical designs in Mexico might well be content to abide the effects which must result from the ever-increasing expansion of the American people

Westward and Southward. Five years, ten years, twenty years hence, Mexico will be opening herself as cheerfully to American immigration as Montana and Idaho are now. What European power can then maintain an army in Mexico capable of resisting the material and moral influences of emigration?

At the moment I am writing we have advices, which have not yet become public, that our forces are advancing against the insurgents along the whole line from the Potomac to West Tennessee.

This fact will be sufficient to satisfy you that the fortunes of the country are to be determined not at Paris, nor yet at Mexico, but upon the soil of the Republic itself.

I am, Sir, etc.

WILLIAM M. EVARTS TO BIGELOW

LIVERPOOL, May 6, 1864.

My dear Bigelow:

I am much obliged to you for your letter, and for the copy of the *Opinion Nationale*. I should think the publication would excite the attention of the French people and, perhaps, make the Government more attentive to the great interests involved. Mr. Dayton was a very welcome visitor, and I had a great opportunity to talk with him freely and at length.

I can see no reason which should prolong my stay in England, or recall me to France unless I should remain here indefinitely. I am disposed to think that circumstances may arise which might make it, in some degree, useful for me to be here, but probably not very soon, and the affairs of my family and my business demand my return.

I find in the last few days a growing uneasiness in this country about Continental affairs, and a tendency to look upon the relations for the future with the United States in a juster light. But we have come to a time when the events of our war are again to occupy and interest public opinion on this side the water, and personal influence is to become either useless or unnecessary as the progress of the campaign shall turn. I feel the utmost confidence in our decisive success.

I hope that we shall *push* the French Government on every point where our interests are involved. We owe the detention of the *Rappahannock* to this course, and we shall gain by it in every case.

I have had enough of Europe, and have no idea that I shall ever see it again.

Good-bye!

Yours truly

BIGELOW TO A. A. LOW, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Paris, May 6, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I enclose an article which appeared in the *Opinion Nationale* on Friday evening last, containing conclusive evidence that the vessels of war building at Nantes and Bordeaux, now rapidly approaching their completion, are destined for the Confederates. The French Govt. has thus far refused to give us any guarantees against the mischief to be apprehended from the departure of these vessels and even convicts itself of complicity with the contractors here by prohibiting, as I hear they have done, any allusion to the revelations of the *Opinion Nationale* in the other journals. Though no subject has occupied more of the attention of social and political circles for some days past, no other print has had a reference to the subject. The Govt., I think, however, will not be able to exclude it from the Corps Législatif, and if it gets in there, publicity is inevitable. It has occurred to me that the subject is a very suitable one to occupy the attention of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and that a few deliberate speeches and well-considered resolutions from that body might have an excellent effect here. I think, for example, if you were to appoint a committee to ascertain whether, in case France sees fit to accept the doctrine of international law which would justify her in permitting the departure of these steamers, there are any laws in existence to prevent, or any legislation required to authorize, the construction of

armed vessels for President Juarez and the Mexicans, and if so that that committee be authorized to take the necessary steps to put the ship-builders of the United States on an equal footing with those of France, and of England also in case both countries conclude to accept the new doctrine.

There should be nothing in the speeches or resolutions looking like a menace, nothing appearing to be addressed to a foreign power, but simply an inquiry instituted in behalf of our commercial industry and looking entirely but sharply to its own interest. The less it appears designed for effect abroad the more it will have. The quicker this or something like it is done the better. Two or three of these vessels will be ready in about two months, and nothing but the strongest outside pressure operating through public opinion in France will prevent their accession to the Confederate Navy. The more influence you can bring to bear through the spontaneous movements of public bodies like our Chambers of Commerce, the less strain will it be necessary to put upon our diplomatic resources, which it may be prudent to economize at present to the utmost. If the Chambers of Commerce at Phila. and Boston were to act simultaneously and without apparent concert, I need not say that the effect would be proportionately greater and more prompt.

It is hardly necessary for me to say to you, and yet I deem it of so much importance that I am unwilling to take even the unappreciable risk of omitting it, that, in talking or resolving about France, too much caution cannot be taken against confounding the people of the nation with the present dynasty in an indiscriminate censure. The Frenchman is, if possible, more proud of his country than an American, and in the defence of its character every Frenchman could be made a Napoleonist in forty minutes, if necessary. I hope, therefore, as our relations become more *tendues* with this government, that great care may be taken both by public speakers and journalists to content themselves with censuring specific acts and specific measures the responsibility of which falls upon a limited number of men, who in turn may be censured here by the mass who are not embraced in the guilt.

It is because I know you appreciate these considerations perfectly, and because the deliberations of the Chamber of Commerce are conducted by men who will also appreciate

them, that I have suggested the possible advantage of a demonstration from them. It is more sure to be done directly by them than by a more miscellaneous or promiscuous assemblage, and such work had better not be attempted than done indiscreetly, that is, in the "spread-eagle style."

The resolution of the House of Reps. about Mexico reached here in the midst of the subscription for the new Mexican loan. The subscriptions stopped abruptly. But about one-third of the amount of 60,000,000 frs. allotted to France was taken, counting each subscription at its full rate, though most persons subscribed for several times more than they wanted, expecting, as on previous occasions, that they would have their subscriptions reduced. The consequence was that those who were not prepared to make their full payments on the amounts they subscribed were obliged to sell out, and the loan fell three and one-half %. Not a pound was subscribed in London, nor a guilder in Amsterdam, where books were also opened. It has, as you may suppose, proved a most mortifying *fiasco* to the government. Had Davis' resolution reached Paris five days sooner, instead of getting 20,000,000 subscribed here they would not have got 5,000,000.

I understand the Govt. has made a trade with the Crédit Mobilier for the amount. This Company has been trying for five or six years to obtain an increase of its capital of 60,000,000. The Govt. would never listen to their application. Now, in its necessities, it has listened and has agreed upon some terms, not yet transpired, to give them what they want for what it must have.

Yours truly

CHARLES NORDHOFF TO BIGELOW

New York, May 17, 1864.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

The Copperhead paper here this morning surprised the town with a forged proclamation duly signed by the President and Mr. Seward, and calling for 400,000 men, in such a way

as to confess to a bad defeat.[1] Gold went up 8 per cent. at once before it could be exposed. This is steamer day, and of course the fraud was intended chiefly for foreign consumption. I enclose two slips which, you will see, authoritatively denounce the thing as a forgery. Mr. Barney promises to forward this note; it is written in great haste, at the latest moment. I hope you are well. The struggle in Virginia is severe, but so far altogether in our favor, and Grant is stronger than at first. Lee is receiving re-enforcements, and still contests bitterly our advance, but his losses will exhaust him soon, and I hope he will not run away, but remain where he is, to be cut to pieces.

Yours truly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Confidential

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1864.

Sir:

I have your confidential dispatch of April 29th, and also your private note of the same date. You have done good service in bringing Arman's hostile proceedings to the light. I pray you express to M. Guéroult my grateful acknowledgments for the aid he has given to the cause of truth and justice by the publications, copies of which you have sent to me.

I have to-day instructed Mr. Dayton to ask M. Drouyn de Lhuys to give serious attention to the subject.

Certainly some of the maritime powers are not as careful to prevent collisions with us as might be desired; I hope we may be able to avert them. Every day's delay is a day of preparation gained. I trust that the *Dictator* will be afloat

[1] The forgery here referred to appeared in the *World* and the *Journal of Commerce*, both prints coveting the distinction of being what Mr. Nordhoff calls them—Copperhead papers. Mr. Seward, on the same day that the forgery appeared, issued a statement that "the paper in question is an absolute forgery; no proclamation of this kind has been made or proposed to be made by the President or issued by the State Department or any other department of this Government."

in full armor in three weeks. When we send her to sea, we shall give the world an earnest of our intention to defend ourselves against our enemies, come from what quarter they may.

Your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private, Unofficial, and Confidential

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I have received your confidential dispatch of May 6th, No. 26, and also your private and unofficial note of the 3rd inst., and I thank you for both. Your proceedings narrated therein, in relation to the piratical vessels which Arman and Voruz are building for the insurgents, are approved. So soon as the renewal of labor on these ships became known here, instructions were sent to Mr. Dayton to ask explanations and express the sentiments of this Government. Those instructions are now repeated with, I trust, becoming explicitness and earnestness. Meantime we shall soon increase our naval force in European waters.

I regret that you think my course towards the French Government is too conciliatory and courteous. If our armies succeed as we hope, we shall have no conflict with France or with any foreign Power. So long as our success in suppressing the Slavery faction at home is doubted abroad, we shall be in danger of war with some one of the Maritime Powers upon some sudden provocation. If we have war with one, we may expect to have war with more than one. If we escape war with all, my courtesy to France will have done no harm. If we shall at last, through unavoidable delay here, fall under the calamity of a foreign war, it will then have come soon enough; and we shall be none the less able to meet it for all the prudence we practised in trying to delay and, if possible, to avert it. I think, with deference to your opinion, which I always hold in great respect, that, with our land and naval forces in Louisiana retreating before the rebels instead of

marching towards Mexico, this is not the most suitable time we could choose for offering idle menaces to the Emperor of France. We have compromised nothing, surrendered nothing, and I do not propose to surrender anything. But why should we gasconade about Mexico when we are in a struggle for our own life? You tell me of help in the Legislative Chambers of France, and support in the Press of Paris. I appreciate and am grateful for both, but what would they avail us if we should give the French Government a ground to appeal, in the midst of our civil war, to French and English jealousy against the United States? It would avail us just as much as German republicanism avails now in Prussia to hold in check the King and Count Bismarck. On the other hand, do you suppose that the American people are in a temper to forgive an Administration that should suffer the Country to fall into a foreign war upon a contingent and merely speculative issue like that of the future of Mexico?

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, June 2, 1864.

Sir:

. . . Since my last, the 21st ultimo, the two corvettes of Bordeaux have been sold to the Prussian Government, which has also become the purchaser of the second ram building at the same place. The original owners of all these vessels will be reimbursed for all moneys expended on them, with interest and a small percentage of profit. They were induced to take this course by a conviction of the impossibility of employing the ships in the manner first intended.

The builders of the two corvettes persist *in saying that they will deliver them to us at sea,* but I *have been so grievously deceived and disappointed heretofore that I am far from placing implicit reliance on their assurances.*

I am quite satisfied that no further attempts to fit out ships of war in Europe should be made at present, but I am every day more and more convinced that, when the war has ceased, one of our earliest cares should be to lay the foundation of a respectable navy.

We must indulge in no Arcadian dreams of following undisturbed the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. Instead of the millennium which the peace philosophers pronounced some ten years ago to have arrived, there has been a series of bloody wars culminating in the most terrific struggle which the world has ever witnessed. The condition of National existence now is the capacity reached to defend itself and inflict injuries on others; the weak have no rights, the strong no obligations. The much vaunted reign of public opinion throughout the world is powerless to save Denmark from the most lawless spoliation, although her integrity was guaranteed by all the great powers of Europe. The justice of our cause, the heroism of our troops, the devotion of our people, while they excite the sympathy and command the admiration of Europe, not only have failed to secure us any friendly support from abroad but even a fair neutrality.

The two strongest powers submit to the insolent demands of the Lincoln Government that their commerce may be safe on the ocean and Mexico and Canada unmolested, and why? Because they have formed an exaggerated estimate of its capacity to do mischief.

Ex-Senator Gwin is on his way to Mexico. His object is to colonize Sonora with persons of southern birth or proclivities residing in California. He bears an autograph letter from Louis Napoleon to the French Commander-in-Chief warmly recommending his enterprise.

His scheme has been fully examined and approved, and offers, I believe, fair chances of success. If carried out its consequences will be most beneficial.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private and Unofficial

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I shall be very glad to put into my library the Italian translation of your noble work,[1] and you will please send two other copies at the cost of the Department; they will be placed in the Library of the Department.

I have so far overmastered the evil of absenteeism in the

[1] An Italian version of "Les États-Unis d'Amérique en 1863."

Consulates that I think I can now leave you at your discretion. You deserve relaxation, and you will not abuse it. I will confirm any leave you may take; but I do not think you would do well to come home. One would think on reading the newspapers that only a minority of our people is patriotic, and this minority envious, jealous and uncharitable, while the great majority is represented by the same papers as vicious and corrupt. It is unnecessary to say that the presses alluded to express only the views of a few querulous partisans. Still their utterances must be taken as a mere monition. Under the influence of these publications, no Minister or Consul leaves his post, for any reason, without giving provocation to persons near the Consulate to send charges here, with applications for the place of the absentee. If he come home, Congress and the Press are chafed by his apparent ease in a sinecure position. That you do not come home is my advice, but it is not to be construed as mandatory.

Party politicians think that the Mexican question affords them a fulcrum, and they seem willing to work their lever reckless of dangers to the Country. Can anybody mistake the isolated and painful condition of England? Can anybody doubt that it results from making foreign questions the basis of partisan action? So far we have escaped only this complication in our great trial; I hope we shall continue to steer clear of it.

Faithfully your friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

June 10, 1864.

Dear Sir:

I have had another application from M. Aucaigne to take him and the *Patrie* into our service. I told him I was too much occupied to discuss the subject with him, but in the course of a week or two, if he would call, I would see if he had anything to say that would modify the views I had already expressed on that subject. M. Dupont, the Editor of the *National,* a

political paper devoted to the Church, has just left me after the second interview devoted to the discussion of the propriety of my buying half of the journal and lending him 50,000 francs upon condition that it should espouse our cause. I told him that our government allowed nothing for such purposes, that the liberal Americans of fortune were not disposed to invest their money, with exchange at 204, in that way, and that we all hoped that in a few weeks or months things would wear such an aspect in the United States as would secure the support of all the French journals to the North without my mediation.

Should there be any persons, however, anxious to invest in a French newspaper, here is an opportunity to buy on favorable terms, for I think the proprietors are in a desperate position.

Yours very sincerely

GEORGE T. RICHARDS[1] TO BIGELOW

20 June. 1864.

My dear Sir:

You will have received a dispatch from Mr. Dayton intended for yesterday, and presuming some early particulars of the event to which it referred will be acceptable, I take pleasure in supplying them from *Official* source.

The *Kearsarge* was at Flushing, and Mr. Dayton, on hearing of the *Alabama,* telegraphed to her to proceed to Cherbourg, to which place his son repaired on Thursday with orders. The engagement between the two vessels took place yesterday (Friday) morning, five miles from Cherbourg, and after a conflict of an hour and a half the *Alabama* was sunk. No officer and only three sailors wounded on board the *Kearsarge.* Semmes and his first Lieutenant escaped by aid of an English yacht, but the *Kearsarge* holds 68 prisoners.

This news, with the other favorable ones received from America to the 9th inst., make us feel quite happy. Present me very kindly to Mrs. Bigelow and believe me,

Sincerely yours

[1] Of the banking house of John Munroe & Co.

[P.S.] I believe I can say that the French Authorities forbade the *Alabama* to enter the port, but were very desirous to not have a conflict take place too near Cherbourg; but Mr. Dayton was not inclined to concede anything more to them than the established three miles. Semmes, before going out, sent word to (I believe) our Vice-Consul that he considered the appearance of the *Kearsarge* off the port was an insult to him. So it may be inferred that he sought an engagement.

Now comes the question of the prisoners, the numbers of which very much incommode the *Kearsarge*. Mr. Dayton does not advise their being paroled.

Monday, 22 June.

The *Kearsarge* only very slightly injured.

CAPTAIN SEMMES, OF THE CONFEDERATE CRUISER *ALABAMA*, TO BENJAMIN

SOUTHAMPTON, June 21st, 1864.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that, in accordance with my intention as previously announced to you, I steamed out of the harbor of Cherbourg between nine and ten o'clock on the morning of the 19th of June, for the purpose of engaging the enemy's steamer *Kearsarge*, which had been lying off and on the port for several days previously. After clearing the harbor, we descried the enemy, with his head offshore, at the distance of about seven miles. We were three-quarters of an hour in coming up with him. I had previously pivoted my guns to starboard, and made all preparations for engaging the enemy on that side. When within about a mile and a quarter of the enemy, he suddenly wheeled, and, bringing his head inshore, presented his starboard battery to me. By this time we were distant about one mile from each other, when I opened on him with solid shot, to which he replied in a few minutes, and the action became active on both sides. The enemy now pressed his ship under a full head of steam, and to prevent our passing each other too speedily, and to keep our respective broadsides bearing, it became necessary to fight in a circle; the two ships steaming around in a common centre, and preserving a distance from each other of from three-quarters to half a mile. When

we got within good shell range, we opened upon him with shell. Some ten or fifteen minutes after the commencement of the action, our spanker-gaff was shot away, and our ensign came down by the run. This was immediately replaced by another at the mizzen-masthead. The firing now became very hot, and the enemy's shot and shell soon began to tell upon our hull, knocking down, killing and disabling a number of men, at the same time, in different parts of the ship. Perceiving that our shell, though apparently exploding against the enemy's sides, were doing him but little damage, I returned to solid-shot firing, and from this time onward alternated with shot and shell.

After the lapse of about one hour and ten minutes, our ship was ascertained to be in a sinking condition, the enemy's shell having exploded in our side and between decks, opening large apertures through which the water rushed with great rapidity. For some minutes I had hopes of being able to reach the French coast, for which purpose I gave the ship all steam, and set such of the fore-and-aft sails as were available. The ship filled so rapidly, however, that, before we had made much progress, the fires were extinguished in the furnaces, and we were evidently on the point of sinking. I now hauled down my colors, to prevent the further destruction of life, and dispatched a boat to inform the enemy of our condition. Although we were now but 400 yards from each other, the enemy fired upon me five times after my colors had been struck. It is charitable to suppose that a ship of war of a Christian nation could not have done this intentionally. We now directed all our exertions toward saving the wounded and such of the boys of the ship as were unable to swim. These were dispatched in my quarter-boats, the only boats remaining to me; the waist-boats having been torn to pieces. Some twenty minutes after my furnace fires had been extinguished, and when the ship was on the point of settling, every man, in obedience to a previous order which had been given the crew, jumped overboard, and endeavored to save himself. There was no appearance of any boat coming to me from the enemy, until after my ship went down. Fortunately, however, the steam yacht *Deerhound,* owned by a gentleman of Lancashire, England—Mr. John Lancaster—who was himself on board, steamed up in the midst of my drowning men, and rescued a number of both officers and men from the water. I was fortunate enough myself thus to escape to the shelter of the neutral flag, together with about forty others, all told. . . . Our total loss in killed and wounded is 30, to wit: 9 killed and 21 wounded.

It was subsequently discovered that ten of the *Alabama's* people were drowned, including Surgeon D. H. Llewellyn. She

fired 370 shot and shell, of which only fourteen hulled the *Kearsarge,* while twice as many inflicted damage on her spars and rigging.

To give a definite idea of the damage sustained by the commercial marine of the United States from the piratical vessels fitted out in the shipyards of England and France during the Civil War, it will be convenient for the reader that I insert here a list of the vessels destroyed by them, and the value. It is taken from a record made and published by an officer of the navy of the Confederate States and therefore not open to the suspicion of any exaggeration. It will be found in a volume of eight hundred and twenty-four octavo pages, entitled "History of the Confederate States Navy from its Organization to the Surrender of its Last Vessel: Its Stupendous Struggle with the Great Navy of the United States; the Engagements Fought in the Rivers and Harbors of the South, and upon the High Seas; Blockade-Running, First Use of Iron-Clads and Torpedoes, and Privateer History." By J. Thomas Scharf, A.M., LL.D., an officer of the late Confederate States Navy. (New York: Rogers & Sherwood, 1887.)

LIST OF VESSELS DESTROYED BY CONFEDERATE CRUISERS FITTED OUT IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, THEIR NUMBER AND VALUE

Ships	75	Steamers	3
Schooners	63	Gunboat	1
Barks	71	Pilot-boats	2
Brigs	33	Cutter	1

Total value $8,639,999.82

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

RICHMOND, 23rd June, 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

I can scarcely trust myself with the expression of the indignation felt by the President at the evasions and injustice of the French Gov-

ernment in relation to the *Rappahannock*. He is of opinion that the delay in the action finally taken by you on the subject went to the extreme verge of propriety, and is gratified to find that the decisive step was adopted of striking her flag and leaving her to the responsibility of the French Government. It is very fortunate that our action on this side on the subject of the tobacco has been justified on grounds entirely independent of any retaliatory spirit, and that we have thus been enabled to show that there are French interests as dependent on our good will as we are on that of the Emperor's government.

In connection with this subject I notice what is said in the cypher passages of your No. 60, and trust that the hopes therein held out to us may be fulfilled; but we shall not be at all surprised to find new obstacles interposed in the same manner as heretofore experienced, and we cannot resist the conclusion that there has been bad faith and deception in the course pursued by the Emperor, who has not hesitated to break his promises to us in order to escape the consequences resulting from his unpopular Mexican policy.

The game played by the Cabinet of the United States with the French Government in relation to Mexico is so transparent that the inference is irresistible that the latter desire to be deceived. The acceptance by Mr. Lincoln of his nomination by the Baltimore Convention commits him openly to refusing acknowledgment of the Mexican Empire, and the platform of that convention, of the Cleveland Convention which nominated Fremont, and the platform which will undoubtedly be adopted by the Democratic Convention at Chicago show a feeling in the United States perfectly unanimous in the determination to overthrow the schemes of the French Government in Mexico, and to resist the occupation of the throne by Maximilian. It has thus become evident that the safety of the new Empire is dependent solely upon our success in interposing a barrier between Northern aggression and the Mexican territory. As we do not intend to allow ourselves to be made use of in this matter as a convenient instrument for the accomplishment of the designs of others, you will not be surprised to learn the nature of the last instructions sent to Mr. Preston, of which a copy is annexed.

I have written to Mr. Mason on the subject of the forged despatch to me, found in the Blue Book, on the affair of the *Chesapeake*. I would be glad that you should confer with him as to the propriety of a publication on the subject. I am not able here to determine whether such publication is at all necessary or advisable.

The speech of M. Rouher on the 12th ultimo in the French Chamber, and the circular letter of M. Drouyn de Lhuys of 4th ultimo as given in the speech, have just reached us in the *Index* of 19th May and may probably be regarded as correctly translated by Mr. Hotze. They

indicate so complete an "entente" between the Cabinets of Washington and Paris that we should be blind indeed if we failed to attach to these incidents their true significance. We feel therefore the necessity of receiving with extreme distrust any assurances whatever that may emanate from a party capable of the double dealing displayed towards us by the Imperial Government.

Our military position is promising in the extreme, and I do not think I go too far in saying that the Federal Campaign of 1864 is already a failure. We may meet with reverses, but nothing at present indicates any danger comparable with the menacing aspect of affairs prior to the success of our noble army in repulsing the repeated and desperate assaults of the federal armies with a slaughter perfectly appalling.

I am, very respectfully, etc.

W. PRESTON TO JEFFERSON DAVIS

HAVANA, 28 June, 1864.

My dear Sir:

. . . . . .

My dispatches to Mr. Benjamin show the measures I have adopted, but I write this private note in addition, as it enables me to explain myself with more freedom than a dispatch appropriately permits.

Doctor Gwin brought me the letters from Mr. Mason. He has identified himself with the new Empire, and has just gone on to Sonora to undertake its colonization under flattering auspices. The country back of Guaymas is reputed to be richer in Gold and Silver than California. Both Emperors were aware of the fact, and M. Fould proposed large mining monopolies to great French corporations for their development and the colonization of the country. Doctor Gwin combated his views, and was consulted by the Emperor Napoleon, who adopted his plans, the basis being our system, with some modifications, and founding colonization upon individual hopes and enterprise, instead of corporate wealth and privileges. It is expected that fifteen or twenty thousand colonists thoroughly acquainted with mining can be procured from Southern men in California.

The plan was fully approved by Louis Napoleon, to the annoyance of M. Fould. The Archduke also heartily approved it, and the Doctor is to be appointed Superintendent or Governor of the districts. The Emperor Napoleon gave him an autographic letter to the commandant of the French forces to insure the military protection of the inhab-

itants, and the expulsion of the Apaches. Under this encouragement he is going forward to the Capital.

I found Doctor Gwin very anxious to secure friendly relations between Mexico and the Confederacy, as the success of his scheme will depend upon the emigration of Southern men from California. He was afraid, from what he heard at Paris, that attempts to establish intercourse would be abandoned by me, and he is very earnest in urging the necessity of action and recognition at once by Maximilian.

Finding the Doctor in this state of mind, I thought it would be well to employ him to secure an invitation for me to go to Mexico. This he is confident he can accomplish in a reasonable time. He is to urge the general arguments with all the force he can command, and secure the opportune delivery of certain letters I have written to the Marquis de Montholon and General Almonte privately. I am to withdraw from Havana for a time, so that the danger of other arrangements or the possibility of engrafting the Monroe doctrine in the treaty of peace, in case of rebuff, may awaken the Emperor to the rights of the Confederacy and the dangers of delay. I will then return here in time to receive his reply, which he hopes to send me by the English steamer on the 6th of September or October, with an invitation to visit Mexico. Doctor Gwin tells me that the refusal of Maximilian wore somewhat of a personal character in regard to Mr. Slidell.

He states that Mr. de Haviland obtained interviews with the Archduke at Miramar in regard to American affairs, and corresponded with Mr. Slidell; among other things he wrote to him that the Archduke would not accept the Empire. Mr. Slidell gave currency to the rumor, and, its exact truth being questioned, exhibited Mr. de Haviland's letter. The Emperor of France, at the time, was greatly perplexed about the Mexican question. The Archduke was informed of the disagreeable character of such reports at such a time, and Maximilian declared that the report was incorrect and misrepresented the facts of the interview. The course of Mr. Slidell was disagreeable to the Archduke, and Gutierrez de Estrada, ignorant of the feeling, promised an audience without consulting Maximilian, which he would not grant from the personal annoyance and feeling created. Such is Doctor Gwin's version of the matter.

I have thus given some account of matters I could not well put in an official dispatch, not of much if any importance in themselves, but so as to put you in more complete possession of the measures taken by me to obtain an invitation, or at least an appearance of welcome, before going forward to Mexico.

I am surrounded by many embarrassments, but will steadily endeavour to accomplish your wishes. I think we will obtain recognition at Mexico as soon or sooner than at any other court. The mighty contest at Richmond, more filled with great results upon mankind

than any of the present century, or perhaps the past, will decide everything. The dreadful repulses of Grant will end in rout, or, at most, an inglorious and weary siege. I wait for and believe in a triumph of our arms so dazzling that all Governments and Monarchs will throw open their courts for our welcome. My situation here for the last four months has been exceedingly disagreeable. The Captain-General, though professing sympathy for the Confederacy, is really afraid of the North. The recent outrage in the extradition of Colonel Arguelles by the Lincoln government rendered him still more supple. I cannot expect, in the slowness of Mexican communication, any definite information before September, and, for the reasons I have stated, I will go to Europe on the steamer sailing direct to Liverpool to-morrow, and return in time to get Doctor Gwin's and Captain Ford's intelligence and replies from the Marquis de Montholon and General Almonte for my guidance. I will see Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, and be in Europe in a fortnight.

General Preston's Report to Bigelow of the "Unpleasantness" between the Emperor of France and Slidell

I am able to give another and somewhat more detailed account of the unpleasantness between the Emperor of France and Slidell, referred to in the foregoing letter as reported by Gwin.

I had it from the lips of General Preston himself several years after the close of the war, and this is the record I then made of it:

Shortly before Maximilian left Miramar to establish what he called an empire in Mexico, he was visited by an Englishman of the name of Haviland or de Haviland, who took an active interest in the agencies at work to shatter our Union. He spent three weeks at Miramar and reported, among other things, that Maximilian had expressed a desire that a minister should be sent by the Confederate States to his Government, promising that such a minister would be recognized at once by him.

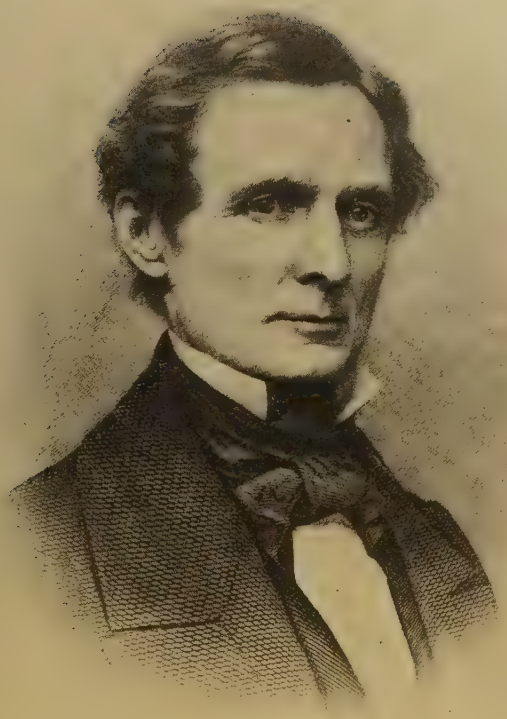
In pursuance of this pledge General William Preston of Kentucky, who had been the United States Minister to Spain under President Buchanan, was commissioned as Envoy

Extraordinary of the Confederate States to the Imperial Court of Mexico. When General Preston had reached Havana on his way to the seat of his mission, it had occurred to him that the Imperial Government to which he was accredited was younger and, as events proved, no more firmly established than that of the Confederate States, which did not depend upon any foreign alliance for its existence, and therefore that it was not consistent with the dignity of the Government he represented, or rather was trying to represent, to send a representative to the imperial court of Maximilian before a representative of that court had been accredited to the equally imperial court of Jefferson Davis the first.

This view of what was due to the dignity of a dynasty as old as that which swayed the destinies of the Confederate States was no doubt fortified by other and weightier considerations, upon which a careful study of the fiscal condition of the Confederacy at that time would probably throw some light; but the reason already assigned for abandoning the Mexican mission was the only one that went upon the record.

Whether General Preston when he left the Confederate headquarters had any serious thought of going any farther toward Mexico than Cuba, and whether Jefferson Davis expected him to go any farther, may be open to debate. However that may be, instead of going to Mexico he went to Paris, a city which, in those days, had many advantages as a residence to Confederate soldiers over the headquarters of the Confederate army or even the imperial city of Mexico. The general had not been in the French capital many hours before he was called upon by Le Mercier, the former French Minister to Washington, who urged him to go to Compiègne and visit the Emperor, he promising to arrange an interview for him on an application for it being made to the grand chamberlain. The general replied that he could only ask or receive such a privilege through the diplomatic agent of his Government. Le Mercier then informed him that it was impossible to do anything at court through Slidell and gave the following explanation of this surprising statement:

While playing at the club one night with Persigny and De Morny, among others, Slidell stated what he had learned through De Haviland about a certain promise and request in high quarters. One of the dukes, for in those days it was the



Jefferson Davis
President of the Confederacy

fashion to call both Persigny and De Morny "duke," said that —— had never made any such request. Slidell reaffirmed his statement. The duke repeated in yet more emphatic terms that it was not true. Slidell rose from his seat and with some vehemence exclaimed, "By God! no man, whether duke or Emperor, shall say that John Slidell ever said what was not true." Of course the offending and, on that account, if for no better reason, the offended duke promptly took his revenge upon the intemperate diplomatist by reporting his language to the Emperor, by whom it was very naturally construed as an impeachment of his Majesty's veracity.

When, subsequently, Slidell applied for an audience with the Emperor, the application was granted, but no time was fixed. A further application was made for a designation of the time. After two or three days' delay Slidell was informed that the note granting the audience was withdrawn; in other words, that he had no longer any standing at the court to which he was accredited.

Imagine Dr. Franklin allowing himself to be beguiled into associations where, to maintain his self-respect, he is constrained to insult the government which it was the vital concern of his mission to conciliate.

An insane idea of his own importance, aggravated by the anxieties of the gaming-table, made Slidell lose sight entirely of the great trust which had been confided to him, and place it as well as himself at the mercy of the two most conspicuous and reckless adventurers in Europe.

IV

THE FRENCH INVASION OF MEXICO ENTERS AN ACUTE STAGE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Unofficial and Confidential

PARIS, July 9, 1864.

Dear Sir:

YOUR dispatch of May 21st, marked "Private, unofficial, and confidential," has satisfied me that my unofficial note of the third of the same month, to which yours was in part a reply, was unfortunately expressed and did me great injustice. So far am I from undervaluing a conciliatory policy towards all foreign nations and especially towards France, that there is hardly a day of my life that I do not feel like congratulating our country upon having its foreign policy under the direction of a statesman who, more than any other I could name, possesses the faculty of subordinating his personal feelings and the national resentments, which he must be supposed officially to share in some measure, to the substantial interests of the country. It is this quality to which in no inconsiderable degree we owe the uninterrupted success with which the business of your department has been conducted through a period of peculiar difficulty, and it is upon this quality that the country reposes with a feeling of confidence in the future which no other department of the government appears to me to have succeeded in inspiring to an equal degree.

In presuming to suggest that a more decided tone in reference to some of the questions pending between the governments of France and of the United States would have its advantages, I meant merely to give you an observation from a

single point of view and not advice, and here let me say that it is only as an observer and friend that I ever presume to give you impressions on matters lying outside of my official duty. Indeed, I should shrink from writing to you at all on such matters if I supposed any official responsibility attached to my opinions. I endeavor to give correct impressions of what traverses my limited field of vision from the bottom of my particular well, but always with the full conviction that you have ample means of discriminating such as are worthy of your notice from such as are not. Having no corresponding resource, I feel it my duty to convey to you my impressions when they assume a certain distinctness to my own mind, because they seem entitled to enter into the aggregate from which your judgments finally derive their shape.

With this explanation I submit my past and future extra-official correspondence and remain, as ever,

Very respectfully and sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, July 15, 1864.

My dear Sir:

Lest you should not get the information from another source by this mail, I will mention that the *Kearsarge* was lying at Dover at 10:30 P.M. on the night of the 13th, waiting for the arrival of the *Sacramento,* and consequently that the reported battle with the *Florida* on that day is a hoax, having the double design of raising the price of American freights and Confederate bonds.

Yours very respectfully

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, 16th July, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I have received your note of the 1st inst., marked "Private and Unofficial." The original of the copies which accompanied

it would, if genuine, be very valuable. It is hoped, therefore, that you may obtain them.[1]

Very truly yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private and Unofficial

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1864.

My dear Bigelow:

Many and sincere thanks for your kind letter of the 9th inst. I am fully sensible of the desperate interests which move France in a direction opposite to her traditional course so favorable to the United States. If I were to give them the same power which my correspondents do, I should almost despair. But, on the other hand, I have just been reading the glowing commercial report from your Consulate, and I feel reassured that France is about as reliable to keep the peace with us as England is, unless we made them not only an occasion but also the time and place for a quarrel favorable to our views.

Faithfully, always your friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Unofficial and Confidential

PARIS, August 6th, 1864.

My dear Sir:

M. Ancel, the deputy to the Corps Législatif from Havre, finding himself at Vichy the other day, sought and obtained an interview with the Emperor. After discussing the local matters of his district which prompted his request for an inter-

[1] Additional proofs of the complicity of the Imperial Government in the construction in French ports of vessels for the Confederate navy.

view, he remarked a map spread out upon the table which proved to be a map of the United States. M. Ancel expressed his regret that the Emperor's benevolent design to stop the terrible slaughter in the United States had thus far proved ineffective. "Yes," the Emperor replied, "it would have all been stopped three years ago if England had been willing to act with me" (or follow my advice or example, or something of that kind).

"However," he added, "Lee will take Washington, and then I shall recognize the Confederates. I have just received the news that Lee was certain to take Washington, and he is probably in possession of the Capitol now. As soon as the fact transpires, I shall be justified in recognizing the Confederate government, and then England will regret her course. England always likes to be on the side of the strongest."

This is almost textually the language of the Emperor as reported to me by Monsieur Moreau (author of the article in the *Revue Contemporaine* about French and American diplomacy, etc.), who is a personal friend of M. Ancel. M. Moreau places implicit faith in the report, nor do I entertain any doubt of its substantial accuracy. It furnishes a new motive and explanation of Lee's recent expedition North, which without some such explanation wore an aspect of rashness and recklessness not characteristic of his movements.

If any new motive were needed for making the defence of Washington impregnable, here you have it.

Yours very faithfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, August 26, 1864.

My dear Mr. Seward:

You will find, by reference to one of the *Moniteurs* sent to the department by the last mail, in the list of recompenses awarded by the Emperor for *acts of devotion* during the month of July last a gold medal to one *Antonio François Mauger,* pilot, for saving 12 men from the Confederate ship *Alabama* on the 19th of June off Cherbourg. A silver medal

was also awarded to two other pilots for their devotion on the same occasion. In connection with this circumstance it may interest you to know that M. Arman, the ship contractor with the Confederates, has recently received from the Emperor's hands the grand cross of commander of the "Légion d'Honneur." You may see by the direction his favors take what kind of services the Emperor most highly appreciates.

Yours faithfully

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

[Recd. 1 Sept., 1864.]

Sir:

. . . . . .

I send you a printed copy, marked B, of an opinion given by M. Berryer, the famous orator and an advocate, at the instance of Mr. Dayton, dated 12 November, 1863, on the subject of the ships then building at Bordeaux and Nantes, by which you will see that he declares not only the ships liable to confiscation, but that the parties concerned, Arman among them, may be prosecuted criminally. His argument does not shake the opinion I have formerly expressed on this question, and to which you refer in your No. 35, but this is a matter on which you are better qualified than I to form a correct judgment.

Be this as it may, Mr. Dayton has not acted on the advice of his Counsel, whether from want of confidence in its soundness or from fear of investigation of the circumstances under which he became possessed of the papers on which it was based. I had much difficulty in obtaining the copy I send you, but will endeavor to secure another in time to accompany the duplicate of this despatch.

. . . . . .

Your most obedient servant

BENJAMIN TO HENRY HOTZE

Sir:

Richmond, 15 September, 1864.

. . . . . .

Our military position in the neighborhood of Richmond has remained substantially unchanged for many weeks, while the evacuation of

Atlanta, although an undoubted disaster, has none of the importance attributed to it by the press North or South. Nothing is more curious than to note the radical difference as exhibited in this war between the people of the two Federations. The vaunting and braggart spirit of the North finds vent on the most trifling occasion, and magnifies the result of a successful skirmish into a grand victory that has "broken the back of the rebellion." The cool and practical Southerner, looking reality in the face, is supposed to depreciate the importance of the most signal success, and to regard a grand victory as shorn of its value if any portion of the enemy's army escape destruction. Is this to be attributed on each side to the innate consciousness of the superiority of the Southern race? Is the North elated because any success is unexpected as against our brave soldiers? Is the South dissatisfied because no success seems adequate to what should be effected by the marked superiority of our troops over those of the enemy? I am unable to solve the question. It is sufficient to point out the fact so as to keep you on your guard against attaching undue weight to the exuberant boastings of the press at the North or the sombre colors of the pictures occasionally presented by our journals.

. . . . . .

I am, very respectfully, etc.

P. S. It would be a great service to us if you would publish in the *Index* an additional list of Yankee vessels that have been transferred to neutrals and that remain mortgaged or hypothecated in favor of the enemy. The list in the *Index* of June last only comprises the year 1863.

THE FRENCH STATESMEN AS FAITHLESS TO DIXIE AS THE ENGLISH

BENJAMIN TO SLIDELL

RICHMOND, 20th Sept., 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

A review of the conduct of the French Government since the commencement of our national career exhibits the most marked contrast between friendly professions and injurious acts. It may not be without utility here to place on record a series of instances in which that Government and its Officers have interposed effectively to aid our enemies, while profuse in professions of sympathy for us.

1st. France united with Great Britain in agreeing to respect a paper blockade of our entire coast, with a full knowledge of its invalidity, as since confessed to you on more than one occasion.

2nd. France joined Great Britain in closing all its ports to the entry of prizes made by us, thus guaranteeing, as far as was possible without open hostility, the vessels of our enemies from becoming prize to our cruisers, and forcing us to destroy on the high seas, and thus lose the value of, all vessels captured from our enemies.

3rd. France has entertained during the entire war the closest amicable relations with our enemies as an independent nation. It has at the same time violated the Treaty of 6th February, 1778, the 11th article of which guaranteed to the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia "their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited," by persistent refusal to treat these states as independent and by countenancing the claim to sovereignty over them, set up by the remaining States that were parties to that treaty.

4th. This Government succeeded in introducing into the Roadstead of the Brazos, Santiago, cargoes of arms destined to pass through the neutral port of Matamoras into the Confederacy. The French naval officers seized these arms, as being intended for the use of the Mexicans, in spite of the most conclusive evidence that they were destined for our defense against invasion. The people of Texas being thus deprived of arms, the town of Brownsville and the Rio Grande frontier fell defenseless into the hands of the enemy.

5th. The agents of the French Government, after obtaining permission for the export of their tobacco under license to pass the blockade, entered into a convention with our enemy, so objectionable in its character, and so derogatory to our rights as an independent power, that we have been forced to withdraw the permission.

6th. This Government was indirectly approached by the Emperor Maximilian with proposals for the establishment of friendly relations. The Emperor of the French is well understood to have interfered to prevent this result, and to induce the new Emperor to seek favor from our enemies by avoiding intercourse with us.

7th. The French Government has taken pains to intimate to us that hospitalities to our vessels of war entering their harbors were accorded with reluctance; and by the delays interposed in the grant of permission to the *Alabama* to enter dock for necessary repairs, placed her commander in a situation which prevented him from declining without dishonor a combat in which his vessel was lost, chiefly by reason of her need of refitting and repair.

8th. The Emperor of the French, after having himself suggested and promised acquiescence in the attempt of this Government to obtain vessels of war by purchase or contract in France; after encouraging us in the loss of invaluable time and of the service of some of our

best naval officers, as well as in the expenditure of large sums obtained at painful sacrifice, has broken his faith, has deprived us of our vessels when on the eve of completion, and has thus inflicted on us an injury and rendered to our enemies a service which establish his claim to any concessions that he may desire from them. This last act of the French Government, professedly dictated by the obligation of preserving neutrality, is marked still more distinctly as unfriendly to the Confederacy by the fact that some of the vessels have been transferred to a European power engaged in war to which France is no party and in which she professes the same neutrality as in the contest on this side of the Atlantic.

9th. The detention of the *Rappahannock* is the last and least defensible of the acts of the French Government, and it is in its nature totally irreconcilable with neutral obligations. A Confederate vessel, *unarmed,* sought and obtained asylum in the port of Calais. She was allowed to complete her repairs and to incur all the cost and expense necessary to enable her to go to sea. She was notified of the desire of the French Government that she should leave the harbor, and while engaged in coaling for that purpose and still unarmed, the French Government, on the demand of our enemies, ordered her to be detained in port on the unintelligible pretext that she had not obtained her coal in advance. Six months have elapsed and the *Rappahannock* is still in a French port. In violation of the right of asylum, we have been deprived of the services of this vessel, while, by the use of a system alternating between a studied silence and evasive statements, our representations have been eluded and our remonstrances rendered unavailing. After thus delaying the departure of the vessel until our enemies have had time to perfect arrangements for her capture, a reluctant consent to her departure was finally extorted, but coupled with conditions which would almost ensure her falling into the hands of the enemy. The vessel therefore remains in the French port, its use during the war practically confiscated by the Government for the benefit of our adversary under circumstances as inconsistent with neutral obligations as they are injurious to our rights and offensive to our flag.

It is impossible for the President, in view of such action on the part of a foreign government, to credit its professions of amity, nor can he escape the painful conviction that the Emperor of the French, knowing that the utmost efforts of this people are engrossed in the defense of their homes against an atrocious warfare waged by greatly superior numbers, has thought the occasion opportune for promoting his own purposes, at no greater cost than a violation of his faith and duty towards us.

It is unfortunately but too true that this Government is not now in a position to resist such aggressions, and France is not the only nation which has unworthily availed itself of this fact, as the messages of the

President have on more than one occasion demonstrated to the world. There is one contrast, however, between the conduct of the English and French Governments that does not redound to the credit of the latter. The English Government has scarcely disguised its hostility from the commencement of the struggle. It has professed a newly invented neutrality which it has frankly defined as meaning a course of conduct more favorable to the stronger belligerent. The Emperor of the French professed an earnest sympathy for us, and a desire to serve us, which, however sincere at the time, have yielded to the first suggestion of advantage to be gained by rendering assistance to our enemy. We are compelled by present circumstances to submit in silence to these aggressions, but we are not compelled, nor is it compatible with a proper sense of self-respect, to affect towards the Emperor of the French a continuance of the same regard and confidence to which the President formerly felt justified in giving public expression. Nor need we forego the hope, which it is, however, unnecessary to proclaim, that the day is not nearly so distant as is supposed by those who take themselves unworthy advantages, when the Confederacy will be able to impress on all nations the conviction of her ability to repel outrages, from whatever quarter they may be offered.

From the correspondence of the naval officers abroad with the Secretary of the Navy, it appears that the French Government was not satisfied with preventing our use during the war of the vessels built in French ports with the consent of that Government, but refused permission to finish the vessels for delivery to us after the restoration of peace, and actually forced the builders to sell them to third parties. From the reports of Captain Bullock it would seem that the arrangements to prevent the vessels from ever reaching our hands were so complete and carried out with such disregard of good faith and of contract, on the part of the contractors and public officials, that he was compelled to esteem himself fortunate in saving this Government from the loss of the money invested. He represents the conduct of all parties to be such as should render the Government ever most cautious in its dealings with France, and it is probable that the lesson will be well remembered.

You will of course understand that in the foregoing observations it is far from the intention of the President to suggest that you should obtrude on the French Government any manifestation of an indignation which, however deeply felt, can be followed by no action that could afford us redress. We believe that you will not find it difficult to maintain a reserved demeanor which will readily suggest the inference that the conduct of the Emperor's Government is regarded by the President as unfriendly, without giving any occasion for a rupture, which would add to the weight of the difficulties attendant on our struggle, and which is therefore carefully to be avoided. Any com-

plaints that we may have to make against European powers must of necessity be deferred for a more favorable occasion, and all that we can do at present is to avoid any course of conduct that could fairly be construed into condonation of injuries that remain unredressed.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.

SLIDELL TO BENJAMIN

PARIS, 26 Sept., 1864.

Sir:

. . . . . .

I was yesterday at the races of the Bois de Boulogne, where I met the Emperor. He recognized me at some distance and came toward me, greeting me very cordially with a shake of the hand. He inquired if I had been well, and asked if I had received, from the Minister of War, notice of an order for the admission of my son at St. Cyr. I said that I had to thank him very sincerely for his kindness in affording my son such an opportunity of acquiring a good military education. He replied that it was quite unnecessary, as he was pleased to have an opportunity of showing his good will. I have not before alluded to this circumstance because an order had not been actually given, although the Emperor had very promptly promised M. de Persigny to grant the permission on his application made about the 10th instant, and indeed I should not probably have mentioned the matter officially had I not had occasion to report my conversation with the Emperor.

. . . . . .

The Emperor asked me what were the prospects of peace. I replied that had the question been put to me ten days before, I should have replied that they were good, but that the letter of McClellan accepting the democratic nomination for the Presidency had completely dissipated them; that Lincoln would probably be re-elected, and that the war would be continued until a revolution should break out in the free States. I asked him if he had read McClellan's letter. He said that he had, that it had greatly disappointed him, for he had entertained strong hopes that the terrible conflict would soon be ended. He then left me with another cordial shake of the hand.

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

PARIS, Oct. 1, 1864.

My dear Friend:

Mrs. Hargreaves is right—I do owe you a letter and have owed it so long that but for her reclamation the statute of limitations would soon have come to my relief. But the fact is that you spoke in it of sending me a pamphlet which you had been perpetrating about the *Times,* and I had laid aside your letter, or rather the care of answering it, until I should be reminded of it by the receipt of the pamphlet, which, however, never came.

My family has been in Germany all summer, and I brought them back only two days since. We are all now once more comfortably installed in Paris, looking forward to a release betimes from Consular cares and a return to my country. Do not infer that I expect to be removed in consequence of the election of a democratic president *soi-disant;* so far from it that I have not a shadow of doubt that Mr. Lincoln will be re-elected by a very large majority. He will in all probability carry every free labor state but New Jersey, and I shall be ashamed if he does not carry New Jersey. If and when elected I shall feel at liberty to press an application made unsuccessfully more than a year ago to be released from public office, to which I always had a Quaker's aversion, now aggravated by experience. I hope your faith in our future, though more long and severely tried than we expected it would be, does not fail. I feel full of faith and hope, and am not yet prepared to abandon the opinion I have often expressed to you that there is little danger of our war's lasting too long. The ignominious defeat of McClellan—for it will be an ignominious one, in my opinion—will show the utter hopelessness of the rebel cause and will deprive it of many friends at home and abroad. It will also be, as far as it goes, an important vindication of the manhood of our people. But I attach great value to the gradual modification of public opinion and of our political system which this war is working. The magnitude of the results to be accomplished when looked back upon will be fully proportioned to the length and cost of war. The people had

a great deal to learn and to unlearn, and they are already a braver and a greater people than they were; I hope, too, they are more modest, though, in my opinion, there is nothing in their history of which they have so good a right to be vain as of the demonstration they have made in defence of their institutions and national integrity.

Did you conclude not to send your brochure about the *Times?* It is rather seldom that anything misses me sent by mail from England, but I have never seen the article. Let me beg you to send me a copy if you have one, for I can read anything against the *Times* with more pleasure than anything in it.

The mail closes. Cordial greetings to Madam and all our good friends, and believe me always most sincerely your friend.

HARGREAVES TO BIGELOW

Send Holme, Ripley, Surrey, Oct. 5, 1864.

My dear Friend:

I have posted one more copy of the lost pamphlet. If it arrives not, pray inform me, and I will send the next through your Ambassador here.

Should you find the contents worth a more extended circulation, I shall be glad to send a few copies to any of your brother officials in Europe whom you may name.

Without any reference to intrinsic merits, in which the pamphlet is probably very deficient, I may mention that the *facts* it contains have been universally suppressed here by the Press, both daily and periodical.

I have received thanks from some eminent men among us, but I fear the corruption, more than hinted at, is wide-spread.

The *Times*—"the base and brutal *Times,*" as O'Connell used to call it, is, however, the greatest of the sinners, and the illicit intercourse between P. H. Square[1] and Cambridge House[2] has long deserved exposure. You will note that all the appointments referred to, with one exception, have been

[1] Printing House Square.
[2] The residence of Lord Palmerston.

made since Palmerston's Premiership. I understand that Dr. Mackay has floated some denial of my statements in New York. I have not been able to obtain the particulars. His denial, so called, must be an evasion. I need scarcely tell you how the later intelligence from your country has revived the hopes of the weak in faith and disappointed the unworthy expectations of our upper classes. You know that I belong to neither of these.

I have prayed daily that your good President may be true to his declarations, and I feel assured I shall not be disappointed. Slavery must go down before the moral force of the Northern people, and the sole blot on the greatest Republic the world has seen will then be removed.

Ever yours

ALEXANDRE DUMAS TO BIGELOW

The following note was left at my door during a temporary absence:

Si Monsieur était l'homme que l'on dit, il viendrait déjeûner demain avec moi à St. Gratien, Avenue du lac; en prenant le chemin-de-fer du Nord à 11 heures moins 10 minutes.

Je lui serre bien cordialement la main.

Alex. Dumas.

3 octobre, '64.

I was only too happy to embrace the opportunity to make the acquaintance of this extraordinary man.

On my arrival at St. Gratien he took an early opportunity of letting me know his purpose in calling upon me the previous day. He had been told, he said, that if he would go to America to write a story it would have a great sale there. He said that a lawyer in New York of French origin had recommended him to come, and if I thought well of it he proposed to leave in about two months and to be absent four. I suggested to him that the time was rather short to see our country and,

A.D. 1802 Alexandre Dumas A.D. 1870

as it was quite an epoch in our national history, that perhaps it would be better for him to come and deliver a series of lectures or addresses throughout the country. To this he made no direct reply, but allowed me to believe that he was very much in earnest about a visit to the United States.

BIGELOW TO ALEXANDRE DUMAS

Translation

PARIS, October 5, 1864.

Dear Sir:

. . . . . .

Since our breakfast yesterday, of which I shall always preserve the most delightful recollections, I have reflected upon your project of visiting America and dare speak now with more confidence upon the subject than when I saw you.

Such a visit at this time would be an event of national interest and of national importance. Your name is more universally known in the United States, I venture to say, than it is in France, for the proportion who read there is larger than here; and you would be sure of such a welcome from my country people as they have given to no Frenchman certainly except Lafayette. Nor can I conceive of anything better calculated to preserve the traditional friendship of our two countries, which has been subjected to some severe trials during the past three years, than a report from such a witness of the memorable events occurring on the other side of the Atlantic.

I propose to make a little programme of things most worthy of occupying your attention during your sojourn in the United States, which will be at your service if you think it would assist you. If possible you should anticipate the period fixed for your departure so as to be in New York during the Presidential election in November. It will be the most momentous election ever held on that continent, unless that of Maximilian in Mexico is worthy of being considered an exception.

Could you witness the election of the next President in November and his inauguration in March, it would give an

epic completeness to your visit which it might be worth your taking some trouble to secure.

Command me at all times; present my duty to Madame, and believe me, dear Sir,

Very truly and respectfully yours

BIGELOW TO THURLOW WEED

PARIS, October 6, 1864.

My dear Friend:

I spent Tuesday with Alexandre Dumas, by invitation, at his country place, to talk over with him a project he has formed of visiting the United States and of making a book about us. His plan is to leave in December; to be absent from four to five months; to carry his translator with him, and to present us with a four-volume mirror of ourselves before his return. I attach a great deal of importance to his visit, not for what he will teach us which will be worth knowing, but for what he will teach the French. There is no living writer sure of a larger audience in France than Dumas; he reaches a class who do not read political journals much. He is a republican in all his sympathies, as he has shown in his writings and recently in his Italian experiences. He is universally beloved by those who know him and has not an enemy in the world. He will make the most readable book about America that was ever written, and the spirit in which he will write it will do more to counteract the unfriendly humors of the court than anything that I can conceive of within the range of the possibilities. He will create a public opinion with which it would be idle for the Emperor, if disposed, to try to contend. Behold then one side of the picture.—Here is the other. Dumas is a quadroon; he likes to be appreciated and will do a great deal more for those who strive to make life pleasant for him than for those who do not. He knows his going to America ought to make something of a sensation; he would be chagrined if it did not. He is a man whose domestic relations are—to put it modestly—extremely French. To illustrate—when I asked him if he spoke

English, "No," he replied. "I read it and translate it, but I can't speak it; but my mistress is English, and I shall pick it up very soon." This was said in such a purely businesslike way that I felt obliged to treat that obstacle as finally disposed of. He is fond of good living and is himself probably one of the very best cooks in the world. He rarely dines at home without directing the cooking of his dinner in person, or at least some part of it.

You will see that he is not the person to whom we can extend public honors, if for no other reason than that we would seem to desire thereby to forestall his judgment of us; a book being the motive of his journey. But he can be very much gratified by those civilities and attentions which promote his objects. I shall give him a letter to you and shall promise him through you the means of seeing everything in New York that is worth seeing: the Central Park in the skating season, the opera and theatre, the public institutions, and through the Superintendent of Police the night side of the metropolis if he should have any curiosity that way. I shall also give him a letter to Mr. Seward, who, I hope, will present him to the President and give him a suitable start in Washington. Now there is one attention which I should like to have paid him in advance if it is practicable and you think well of it. That is to have a free ticket sent to him and his party on as many of the railroads of the United States as were so disposed. They never do such things except to the heads of Journals here, and it would impress him very favorably. If you can get me some and send them out, I will send them to him or hand them to him in a way to make him see in the act a foretaste of the welcome in store for him. He has been in doubt, I judge from a remark he made to me, whether we had sufficiently conquered our negrophobia to receive a person of mixed blood as he is accustomed to be received in France, for here and throughout Europe Dumas is one of the great powers. I think you and Dean Richmond can together without much trouble make a deadhead of the great romancer throughout the United States, and that of course very quietly.

We have made up our mind here that Lincoln is to be reelected; as soon as the news reaches me I shall renew my application, made some 15 months ago, to be relieved from the post, where I have remained for the past two years because others,

not myself, thought that I could be more useful here than any other person to be had at that time. As you were more or less instrumental in placing me here, I count upon your good offices to release me from it, by finding some person whom Mr. Seward will admit to be equally or more competent than myself, for the place. I don't know that I should care to leave here until Spring, but I wish to have the period of my stay fixed that I may begin to make the manifold arrangements incident and preliminary to such a change.

You have had the kindness once or twice to mention my name in connection with the diplomatic service. There was no occasion, when you wrote me to that effect, for me to enter any protests against continuing my residence longer abroad, but now perhaps there is, that my motive in insisting upon laying down my consulate may not be misunderstood. I want to go home; I want to live there and bring up my children there; I would like to resume the literary pursuits from which I have been separated, and am anxious to disengage myself as completely as possible from political or at least from governmental service. There is no diplomatic position to which I could make pretensions which I would be willing to accept for my own pleasure, and I am sure I can serve my country more effectively in a private than in any public capacity whatever. Therefore if there should be any talk of continuing me in the public service I wish you would use your influence to have my name left out of any such calculations.

Our friend Sanford has been launched into matrimony and is now in Spain with his bride, who is one of the most attractive women I ever saw. She will indemnify him handsomely for his failure last winter. I hope your war with the *Evening Post* is at an end. It has pained me very much, for I have seen no possible good likely to come out of it, while the crop of mischief from it was sure to be large. If you have had anything to do with the prosecution of Henderson, I hope you will relent. He is not a corrupt man, unless holding office under Mr. Lincoln has strangely changed him, and from my experience of him it is incredible that he should ever have put his character at the mercy of a man like Savage, had he been ever so badly disposed.

The feeling that prevails here now is that we are going to win, that peace and the Union will now be restored. You will

see evidence of it in the Press, where it is much less difficult now to get a hearing than it was a few months ago.

Yours very truly

The article referred to by M. Laboulaye in the following letter appeared in the *Revue Nationale*. It prompted me to send him some of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States which I had just received from Washington. His acknowledgment, which follows, led to an acquaintance eminently profitable to the Union cause and agreeable to me.

E. LABOULAYE TO BIGELOW

Glatigny, Versailles, 9 octobre, 6 M.

Monsieur:

Je vous remercie de m'avoir envoyé la correspondance diplomatique; je la lirai avec grand intérêt; tout ce qui touche les États-Unis me tient au cœur. C'est vous dire avec quelle anxiété, je suis l'élection de Président. La *Revue Nationale* dans son numéro du 10 oct. publie un article de moi sur cette question; je souhaite, qu'il puisse vous servir là-bas, si peu que ce soit; car l'élection de Mr. Lincoln me semble le salut de la République Américaine et de la Liberté qui interesse tout le monde.

Je me dis avec la plus parfaite considération,

Votre tous dévoué

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

Paris, Oct. 15, 1864.

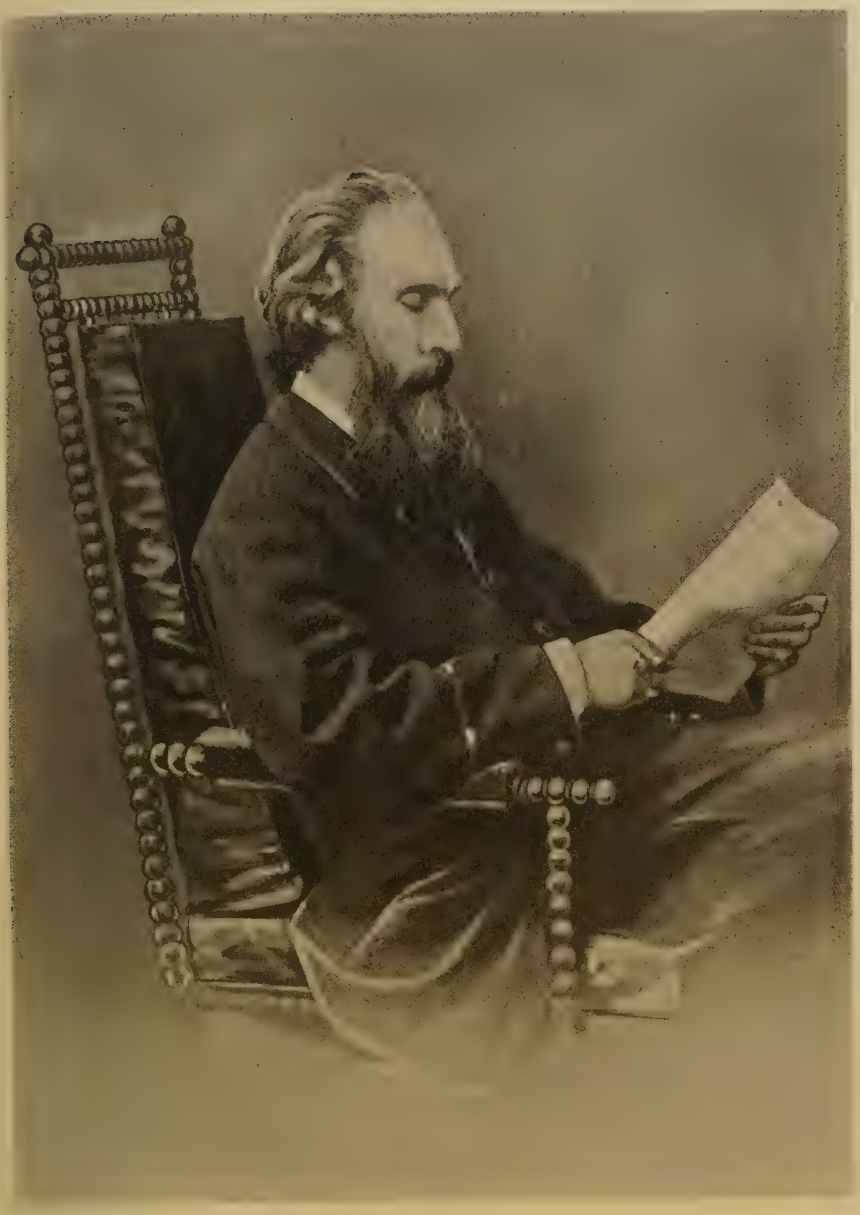
My dear Mr. Hargreaves:

I am much obliged to you for your "Revelations from Printing House Square." It will do good to let a little light

into that "mystery of iniquity," but not the good you wish or expect. The *Times* is simply an exponent of public opinion, and as fast as you change public opinion you will change the *Times*—no faster.

Your attacks, any farther than they represent a fraction of public opinion, do not affect a journal so firmly planted and rooted in all the cherished prejudices of the English nation. You might as well club the weather-cock on your barn because you do not like the violence or the direction of the wind. As long as the *Times* is such a faithful exponent of public opinion as it is in England, you may assert and prove that its editor murdered his mother and daily plays at dominoes with the bones of his father, without diminishing its circulation. The public will rather accept a certain familiarity with the crime of murder in an Editor as one of the necessary conditions of producing a newspaper to their taste; they will not give up the newspaper.

I never knew a newspaper seriously prejudiced by any notoriety which the press could give to the vices of its conductors. A journal is never attacked until it is formidable, and then the more it is assailed the greater interest is felt to see how it squirms if it squirms, or to see how it deals its blows if it fights back. I have seen a great many papers die in my time, but I have remarked that the greatest mortality is amongst those against which fewest complaints are made. Is not the *Times* as just, as sensible, as humane as parliament, and does not parliament represent the public opinion of England? Not all of it, but the controlling opinion. When you elect Saints to Parliament the *Times* will have a daily homiletic in its editorial columns and open its editorial rooms every Sabbath for a Sunday school. In hunting the *Times* you are warring with the symptoms, not with the disease, I fear. Understand me; this is not meant to imply that I underrate your services and Mr. Cobden's in exposing the relations of Delane & Co. with Govt., or that they ought to be discouraged, but rather that you must not hope too much from your efforts, you must not hope abruptly to change the feelings of Englishmen. Even if you could shut and bar the doors of Printing House Square to-morrow and forever, you would have another *Times* the next day, just as you would have another Pope immediately if Pius IX. were to be driven out of Rome.



William Hargreaves

I am glad that things in the U. S. wear a more cheerful aspect to you. It has seemed latterly as if the rebel combination was crumbling to pieces and as if the disproportion of material force between the North and South was beginning to tell upon the South. If, as I do not doubt, Lincoln is elected again, the disorganization of the Southern armies will go on more rapidly. We seem at last to have found two or three Generals who deserve and possess the confidence of the nation. It has cost a great deal to get them, but, having them, the result of the contest loses most of that uncertainty which enveloped it from the eyes of most Europeans. The South must submit, and Slavery must go to Kingdom come. It may compel us to eschew Château-Laffitte and point lace for a few years, but fortunately very few Americans have been accustomed to such luxuries all their lives, and therefore will only have to surrender acquired and not inherited tastes.

Greet your wife and daughter for me, and believe me

Your very sincere friend

WEED TO BIGELOW

New York, Oct. 19, 1864.

My dear Friend:

I shall very cheerfully do all in my power to render the visit of the great French Scholar to this Country personally pleasant. The Railroads will cheerfully comply with your suggestion. I will send some papers to you, and hold others in readiness for M. Dumas on his arrival.

I dare not object to your return home, if you insist, though I shall not be satisfied if a mission be not put at your disposal directly after the election.

I thought of you when I was quarrelling with the *Post,* hoping that you would see that I was not the aggressor. I was not in any manner concerned in the arrest of Mr. Henderson. That arrest was made *before* I spoke of Mr. H., who, like most men in such affairs, was tempted and fell.[1]

[1] Mr. Henderson was the business manager of the firm of William C. Bryant & Co. He was tempted by the influence of the *Evening Post,* on the accession of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, to apply for the place of Navy

Again the disloyalty of the Democratic Party has worked its own over-throw. Mr. Lincoln is to be re-elected (if at all) on the blunders and folly of his enemies. As it now stands, he is quite sure of success.

Grant has not been, so far, as successful as we hoped; but he has been largely reinforced, and there seems no excuse for not taking Richmond. But oh! how much better it would have been, long ago, to have taken Wilmington, with a quarter of the men and money lost in not taking Richmond!

. . . . . .

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO HIPPOLYTE TAINE

19 October, 1864.

Dear Sir:

I am surprised and mortified to learn that Mr. Tuckerman's book has not reached you. I will take immediate steps to learn its fate. Meantime I send you another copy which I was so fortunate as to have, and which I will replace with the copy designed for you, as soon as it is found.

I also take the liberty of adding a couple of volumes of diplomatic correspondence recently published by my government, which, though not falling strictly within the domain of literature, is not entirely destitute of interest to a literary man *qui nil humanum alienum putat.*

Our government under the present administration is the

Agent at New York, and unfortunate enough to receive it. During my connection with the *Evening Post* it was the settled policy of its proprietors to accept no public office. This was the first departure from that rule.

It was Mr. Henderson's duty as Navy Agent to purchase supplies for the navy. He was charged with obtaining them at a lower price than that at which he delivered them to the Government, thus taking commissions both from the Government and from the merchant. The court did not find him guilty of the charge. Mr. Weed was believed to have instigated the proceedings against him in consequence of some virulent language in which his own conduct in those days was arraigned in the columns of the *Post.* He says Henderson "was tempted and fell." It was the current rumor at the time that the office had been for many successive administrations chiefly attractive for the opportunities which Mr. Henderson was accused of abusing.

first that has deliberately conducted its diplomacy *à découvert* and with direct and constant accountability to the public. Every year since President Lincoln's accession, Mr. Seward has published two or three volumes of diplomatic correspondence showing the exact state of our relations with all the world, so that every American may know who are our friends and who are not, where our relations are critical and where they are satisfactory, and why. In this way public opinion is always at the level of governmental action.

What has hitherto been deemed an impracticability has thus far been so successfully managed by Mr. Seward that I doubt if any of his successors will ever venture to return to the old system; they certainly will not unless it be to do things of which they know the country will disapprove.

How differently would the last fifty years of European history read if every minister of foreign affairs had thus gone to the public confessional at the commencement of every year!

Yours very respectfully

LABOULAYE TO BIGELOW

Glatigny, Versailles, 27 octobre [1864].

Mon cher Monsieur:

J'aurais besoin d'un renseignement que votre parfaite connaissance des États-Unis vous permette, sans doute, de me donner aisément.

N'y a-t-il pas eu au commencement de la guerre, peu avant ou peu après, une proposition fait au Congrès, ou même un vote du Congrès, pour offrir aux États à esclaves de contribuer au rachat de leur servitude? J'ai trouvé ce fait quelque part et je m'en suis bien aidé dans les articles que vous avez fait imprimer en brochure; aujourd'hui on me demande où je l'ai pris, et ma mémoire me trahit complètement. Si vous pouvez venir à mon secours vous m'obligerez beaucoup.

J'espère que vous avez des bonnes nouvelles de Vicksburg dont j'attends le résultat avec une bien vive impatience.

J'ai l'honneur de me dire avec une parfaite sympathie,

Votre tout dévoué

BIGELOW TO LABOULAYE

79 Rue de Richelieu, October 28 [1864].

My dear Sir:

On the 6th of March, 1862, President Lincoln sent to Congress a message which commenced as follows:

"I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies which shall be substantially as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system."

A joint resolution to that effect was introduced into the House of Representatives on the 10th of the same month, all the Democratic members of secession proclivities voting against a motion to suspend the rules for the purpose, which passed, however, by a vote of 86 to 35.

This resolution was entitled as follows: "Joint resolution declaring that the United States ought to coöperate in affording pecuniary aid to any State which may adopt the gradual abolishment of slavery."

It passed the Senate on the 10th of April following by the vote of 32 to 10, the "Copperhead" Senators all voting against it. On the 14th of July, 1862, the President sent to Congress the draft of a bill to compensate any State which may have slavery within its limits, the passage of which as presented he respectfully and earnestly recommended.

This bill did not pass, probably because the joint resolution of the 10th of April had produced no sympathetic manifestation among the rebel States, and the session was so near its close as to render any deliberate action upon the general subject impracticable.

During the same session and on the 16th of April President Lincoln approved an act for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia, which provided for the compensation of the owners.

On the 22d day of September, 1862, President Lincoln gave

notice, in a proclamation, of the intention, which he executed in his annual message to Congress in December, 1862, to recommend an amendment to the Constitution providing that all States abolishing slavery before 1900 should receive compensation in manner and form as set forth in such message. That amendment failed, I believe, to pass Congress. I never knew its history precisely, but my impression is that it did not promise to be of any service in propitiating the rebels and was quietly dropped, but I am not sure. A proposition was made some years ago by Mr. Webster in a speech in the Senate to purchase the freedom of all the slaves, but it never was presented in a form to receive action from Congress. Indeed, the South always regarded such a policy as hostile to them and to their institutions.

I think the elections that have occurred leave no room to doubt that Lincoln will receive the vote of every State that voted for him in 1860. Trusting that you will find here the information you seek, I remain,

Very sincerely yours

In Mr. Lincoln's message here referred to he made the two following additional recommendations: to secure freedom to all slaves who during the Rebellion had enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of war, also providing compensation to loyal owners; and a third authorizing Congress to provide for colonization. He closed with the following appeal to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress, in language which touched tenderly the heart of the nation and which after a lapse of nearly half a century cannot be read without emotion:

> This plan is recommended as a means, not in exclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the national authority throughout the Union. . . . The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of, first, two-thirds of Congress, and, afterwards, three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no very

distant day upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now and save the Union forever. . . . We can succeed only by concert. It is not, "Can any of us imagine better?" but, "Can we all do better?" Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, "Can we do better?" The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We, of this Congress and this Administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed, this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will ever applaud, and God must forever bless.

GEORGE BANCROFT TO SAMUEL RUGGLES

New York, Nov. 4, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I thank you very much for showing me Mr. Bigelow's letter, which gives the promise of a visit from the illustrious Dumas. I have derived so much pleasure from his writings that I owe him a welcome, and shall always and in all places show him the homage due to one of the most popular of living writers.

I am ever, dear Mr. Ruggles,

Most faithfully yours

Dumas, who was always impecunious, doubtless expected our Government would lubricate his mission to America with a generous allowance, but I had neither the means nor the disposition to do anything to qualify the disinterestedness of

his ambition to do something noble for the benefit of his race in America. The consequence was that I heard nothing more from him of his American tour.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private and Confidential

Washington, Oct. 22, 1864.

My dear Sir:

I shall be glad to receive M. Dumas, and to contribute all in my power to make his sojourn here profitable and pleasant to him. It seems to me that the Lecture room would be his place, in regard to the fiscal question. He would draw better than ever Thackeray did.

I will have Laboulaye's whole article reprinted.

I am delighted to hear of the continued zeal and labor of Count Gasparin.

Yours faithfully

The forty-five years that have elapsed since the following letter was written have given a prophetic value to the lines of it in italics. We are now realizing, as few realized as Mr. Bowen did, that the cost of our Civil War cannot be measured by the blood and money spent in waging it. The reverence due to our Federal Constitution received during that internecine strife shocks which after a lapse of nearly fifty years we are only beginning to repair.

JAMES BOWEN TO BIGELOW

New York, Nov. 8, 1864.

Dear Bigelow:

This is the day of election. There can be no doubt of Lincoln's success, though it may be that we shall lose this state through the fraud in the soldiers' vote. What the future may

have in store for us of distress and sorrow none can tell. But I am full of apprehensions. Our friends think lightly of the Conspiracies at the West. To me they are the darkest clouds in the horizon. If it be possible, the rebels at the South will incite the Copperheads of the West to take up arms. In the Atlantic States there is no present danger, though there are skeletons of organizations in this and adjacent states waiting an outburst at the West to give them form and substance. The uprising of 20,000 armed traitors at the North would bring home to us the worst calamities of civil war, besides prolonging the contest. If we escape from this impending danger the war cannot last many months; the South is entirely exhausted in men and means, and must soon have peace, either through the aid of their armed allies at the North and the transfer of battle to our soil, or by their own subjugation. If they find that they can have nothing but the sympathies of Copperheads, insurrections will spring up among themselves, desertions from their armies will increase, peace parties will be formed in their Legislatures, and thus the rebellion will come to a speedy end.

And then comes the task of reconstruction. In 1860 so gentle was the general Government in this exercise of its functions that we were hardly conscious of its existence; we now feel its power pressing on every individual. Then the Government of the State seemed the only substantial power; now the *idea* of State Sovereignty is obsolete. The great future danger is a vast consolidated power at Washington, controlling the internal affairs of provinces, assuming every doubtful power under the constitution, and even others on the ground of inherent rights of sovereignty. Such is the tendency of affairs now, and this is the great evil we have to apprehend. *State Sovereignty is to be the issue between parties, not as understood at the South, absolute and independent, covering the rights of secession, but the moderate conditional sovereignty of the old northern democracy. We shall find arrayed against this doctrine the office-holders under the general government, the vast army of contractors, and the holders of national stocks, which in a short time will include all the Banks and moneyed institutions of the country, together with the traditional descendants of Hamilton and the old federal party, who are more numerous than is supposed.*

I am glad to learn you are coming home; your presence here at the head of a public press will do good, and you have reaped all the honor you can obtain in the Consulate. But if Seward does right he will advance you to a mission, which for the sake of the country I should deplore, for you can do more good here.

Nov. 15.

Neglecting to send this letter gives me the opportunity to congratulate you on the result of the election. Its overwhelming character relieves us of all apprehension of trouble at the North. The Copperheads have become doves; the wolf lies down with the lamb.

There will be changes in the Cabinet. I would not be surprised if the change be complete.[1]

Remember me to Mrs. Bigelow, and believe me,

Yours sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

Paris, October 15, 1864.

Dear Sir:

I am told that a Mr. Newman goes out to New York by the *Washington* under an assumed name. He is reported to me to be one of a party who have undertaken to carry gold on the day before the election to 300 and who claim to have $15,000,000 in greenbacks to operate with. Belmont is represented to me as the financial manager of the scheme. Newman is from St. Louis, said to be very rich, about 35 or 40 years of age, small in size, light complexion and light moustache. He relies upon the friendship of Captain Duchesne, with whom he has made a

[1] The popular election for President was held on the 8th of November, 1864, with the following result: General McClellan secured but 21 electoral votes, derived from New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky, while 212 were cast for Lincoln.

voyage, to land without a passport. It is the talk at the Grand Hôtel that gold is to reach 300 the day preceding the election.

I will try to communicate these facts to some passenger on the *Washington* who will awaken the vigilance at New York, though it is now 4 P.M. and the train leaves in a few hours. My chance therefore is not good.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO FATHER CARO

Very Confidential

PARIS, October, 1864.

My dear Father Caro:[1]

I take the liberty of confiding to you a very delicate duty. Please read the enclosed note directed to the Superintendent of the New York Police. I would like to have you, if you feel disposed, to ascertain and "spot" the person to whom it refers, and place the letter in the hands of some responsible officer of the government who may board the vessel before the passengers can land. The man who receives the passports, if you can find him soon enough, is the proper person to receive it.

Should you not be able or inclined to meddle with the matter in that way, I beg you will at least take the trouble to see that my note is sent under seal to the Superintendent of Police.

I need not say that this must be managed in the strictest confidence and my letter be only given to a reliable officer of the government.

With suitable apologies for troubling you with such a commission, and ardent wishes for a pleasant voyage and your safe return to our friends in America, I remain

Sincerely yours

[1] Father Caro was the curate of the Catholic church at Cold Spring, Putnam County, New York; he chanced to be in Paris on the date of this letter and bound for the United States. The letter confided to him was intended to secure for Mr. Newman, the gentleman referred to in my letter of October 15, a few months' lodging at the public expense.

BIGELOW TO HENRY TUCKERMAN

PARIS, November 18, 1864.

My dear friend Tuckerman:

. . . . . .

In his note of acknowledgment M. Taine[1] said, among other things: "J'ai étudié les littératures que pour mieux comprendre le caractère et l'état social des peuples, et je sais combien je manque encore de renseignements sur les États-Unis. Les journaux anglais, si abondants sur cette matière, sont evidement partiaux; le *Times* que je lis, Mistress Trollope et les autres voyageurs prêchent une thèse en cédant à des antipathies; ce qui n'a rien extraordinaire quand on voit combien il faut de bonne volonté et d'attention pour entrer dans l'esprit d'un peuple étranger. L'ouvrage de Mr. Tuckerman et vos correspondances diplomatiques sont d'autant plus precieux qu'ils permettent de voir la défense après l'attaque."

I don't think Taine has written anything about your book, and you are aware, I suppose, that it is very seldom that any English book gets noticed in a French journal. The French generally think their language and the dead languages contain everything important to know.

. . . . . .

I wish I could have been present at the celebration of Mr. Bryant's anniversary. It is something of an homage both to the genius and character of Mr. Bryant to receive such a demonstration as is in contemplation, at a time when the nation is struggling for its very existence. The more I see of the way great men are made abroad, the more gratified I am to remark, in this case at least, a disposition, heretofore sadly wanting among us, to cherish and make much of our really great men. Every grateful tribute to the man who is putting off his harness is an encouragement to thousands of young people who are first putting theirs on, and nothing is more fatal to all honorable ambition than neglect of really meritorious men. I feel that in that direction we have sinned

[1] Hippolyte Taine, to whom I had sent a copy of the Diplomatic Correspondence of 1863 with a copy of Henry Tuckerman's Essays.

greatly as a people. Our journals and public men waste their praise upon political zealots and mediocrity, but they seem to think, with the Irishman at the fair, that the best use to make of any head which rises above the rest is to hit it.

Mr. Bryant has done his share of hitting over the head in his time, and it is a marvel that a man who has conducted a political journal for over thirty years in the United States should be so generally admired and so justly appreciated by his countrymen. And yet the children of this generation will know him much better and appreciate him more completely, both as a poet, as a philosopher, if not as a journalist, than his contemporaries have done.[1]

We are waiting anxiously for the news of Lincoln's election, of which we do not permit ourselves here to doubt, though so much depends upon it that we can't feel it sure till we have the news. . . .

Very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO THE EDITOR OF THE *LONDON SPECTATOR*

79 Rue de Richelieu,
Paris, Nov. 19, 1864.

Mr. Walker.

Dear Sir:

I beg to recall myself to your acquaintance for the purpose of requesting that, before committing your journal to any

[1] In the fall of 1864 the Century Association, of which William Cullen Bryant was one of the founders, resolved to make his seventieth birthday the occasion of a festival in his honor. George Bancroft, the historian, then president of the Century, presided. All the most prominent men of letters and artists of the country were present or represented. Poems were read by Dr. Holmes, Bayard Taylor, Boker, Stoddard, T. Buchanan Read, Julia Ward Howe, Whittier, Lowell, Tuckerman, and several others. Letters of congratulation were also read from the Danas, Longfellow, Edward Everett, Pierpont, Verplanck, Halleck, Sprague, Charles T. Brooks, Miss Catherine Sedgwick, Willis, Goldwin Smith, and others with whose names the public is less familiar.

To crown the notable features of this memorable ovation, the most esteemed artists of the country, among them Durand, Huntington, Kensett, Eastman Johnson, Church, Gifford, Gray, Coleman, La Farge, Leutze, Hennessy, J. G. Brown, Bierstadt, McEntee, and Hicks, united in presenting the poet with a portfolio of pictures from their respective easels. (Bigelow's Life of Bryant, p. 218.)

opinion in regard to the recent affair at Bahia, you will run your eye over the Diplomatic Correspondence of our government for 1863, Vol. II, between pp. 1161 and 1182. You will there find reasons, I think, for presuming that the Captain of the *Wachusetts* acted deliberately in taking the *Florida,* and that he had reasons for it which, when they transpire, will probably be regarded by his government as a justification. Let me call your particular attention to dispatches on pp. 1157–1171, Mr. Grebert to Mr. Webb[1] on pp. 1175–1176, and 1178, Webb to Alrantes.

To show that his conduct will probably appear to have been based upon a state of facts which will constitute a justification in the eyes of our government, I will refer you to the letter of Mr. Seward, pp. 1181–2. Doubtless you have a copy of the correspondence, but in the hope that you may see fit to lay some or all of the documents to which I refer before your readers, I enclose the printed sheets.

In conclusion I ought to say that I have no information whatever upon the subject, except what I derive from sources equally accessible to you, that is, the newspaper reports from Bahia and the diplomatic correspondence above cited; I think they at least justify a suspension of public opinion until something has been heard from "the other side."

Yours very respectfully,

BIGELOW TO HENRI MOREAU

November 22 [1864].

Thanks, my dear Moreau.

Lincoln's success is more important and more significant than is realized even in America. It is the first president ever reëlected from a free state. His predecessors from Northern states have all either forfeited the support of the South by their unwillingness to regard slavery as an institution of Divine appointment, or they have forfeited the confidence of the North by acquiescence in that brutal dogma. Lincoln's elec-

[1] James Watson Webb, then our Minister to Brazil.

tion shows that the cause of free labor has, to use a mechanical phrase, "passed the centre." Henceforth the policy of freedom may be considered as finally and irrevocably installed at Washington, and slavery sent with a brand upon its back into the dark corners of the earth, an outcast. If they should illuminate for Lincoln's election as much as they are enlightened by it at Compiègne, you may look for a rise in the price of candles.

Your sincere friend

THE DEATH OF MR. DAYTON

I had just finished my breakfast and was sitting with one of my children at my residence, No. 80 Avenue de la Grande Armée, on Friday morning, the 2d of December, 1864, when the servant announced Mr. Richards[1] and Dr. Beylard.[2] I did not try to disguise my surprise at receiving a call from these gentlemen at such an hour. The doctor said, "You may well be surprised to see us here. Mr. Dayton is dead." He then went on to say that the evening previous, when they had finished dinner, Mr. Dayton and William[3] went out for a walk. They strolled down to the Palais Royal, and after walking around awhile separated, William to go to the theatre and his father to make a call or two. He appears to have gone first to his friends the Vanderpoels, who were staying at the Hôtel du Louvre. As the Vanderpoels were at dinner, Mr. Dayton did not stop. He was next heard of at the apartment of a Mrs. Eckels, who was also residing at the Hôtel du Louvre.

According to the doctor's report of what followed, after some pleasantry on entering, Mr. Dayton called upon his hostess to give three cheers for Abraham Lincoln, the news of whose reëlection had recently reached Paris. He soon complained of feeling unwell and said he must take a seat. He had a headache, he said, like that of his poor boy; he could not see, and begged she would not leave him. In a few minutes he

[1] Of the banking house of John Munroe & Co.
[2] An American physician residing in Paris.
[3] His son and Second Secretary of Legation.

died. The doctor said he was immediately sent for, but did not reach there for an hour or so. Mr. Dayton had then been dead some time. The doctor at once comprehended the importance of removing the body before the police could interfere, for should they become aware of what had happened they would insist upon holding an inquest upon the premises, which would involve many inconveniences, all of which would be avoided by placing the body within the precincts of the legation. He immediately sent a messenger with a note to William Dayton to have him come down with their carriage. William received the note upon his return from the theatre and drove down as desired. After an altercation with the proprietor of the hotel, which was only terminated by a pledge from the doctor that he would take all the responsibility for what they were doing, they got the body into the carriage and took it home.[1] Mrs. Eckels insisted upon riding up to the legation with the body to explain how it happened. They wished to discourage her, but she insisted. "What will Mrs. Dayton think?" she exclaimed. "My reputation is involved. I must go at once." And so she went. It was near midnight when Mrs. Dayton and her children saw what remained of their husband and father brought from the carriage.

Such was the shocking intelligence of which these gentlemen were the bearers.

As soon as I was able to turn my mind from what had occurred to the duties it imposed, we went together to the legation, advised Pennington[2] to give official notice of the event to the Minister of Foreign Affairs without delay, arranged for a family service at the legation the following day, which was Saturday, Dec. 3, and to have the body embalmed and taken to the American Chapel, where a public funeral service should be solemnized on the Tuesday following.

In the afternoon I called again at the legation to accompany Dr. Beylard to the *mairie* at Passy to make the *constatation de décès*. Before leaving the legation, however, Mrs. Dayton asked to see me for a moment alone. We retired to the room of Secretary Pennington, who was absent, and she then remarked that Pennington would be trying to secure the Minis-

[1] Mr. Dayton then lived at No. 5 in the Rue Circulaire, near the Arc de Triomphe.

[2] The First Secretary of Legation.

ter's salary; that he did not deserve it; that he knew nothing of the business; that he had never enjoyed Mr. Dayton's confidence; that the legation had to be kept in their apartment at their expense, and that the emoluments, she thought, ought to come to them. She concluded with the request that I would write something to that effect to Mr. Seward.

As what Mrs. Dayton said was, to my personal knowledge, strictly true and was only just, I had no hesitation in complying with her request.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, Dec. 2, 1864.

Dear Sir:

You will receive by this mail, through another channel, official notice of the sudden death of our Minister, the Hon. William L. Dayton, last evening, while casually on a visit to the Louvre Hotel. It is not my purpose in writing you now to attempt to interpret the feelings which this melancholy event will awaken among the acquaintances of the deceased in Paris, where he was beloved by many and respected by all who knew him, but to make a suggestion in the interest both of the Government and of the family of the deceased, the propriety of which I think you will recognize.

Mr. William Dayton, Jr., has been from the commencement of his father's residence here the practical secretary of legation. He alone enjoyed the confidence of his father, and he alone knows the situation of the public business. I mention this as a fact within my own knowledge, that, in case you make any arrangements which contemplate the continuance of either at this post, provisionally or otherwise, you may be prepared to judge which would be likely to serve as Mr. Dayton's successor and the Government most advantageously. Another consideration, which in view of the sudden bereavement of Mr. Dayton's family deserves to have its weight in determining the preference, is the fact that the bureau and apartment occupied by the legation will continue to be a personal charge upon the family for some time. Anything which the department can do toward lightening this burden upon the family

by utilizing the knowledge and experience which William has acquired here in the service of the Government, I think would be very gratefully appreciated by the family and their friends.

I remain, dear Sir, etc.

Mrs. Bigelow called on Mrs. Dayton during the day and learned from her that Mr. Dayton had made a very hearty dinner the day previous and among other things had eaten very freely of pumpkin pie. Mr. Dayton was a man of strong appetites and fond of the pleasures of the table. His stomach had begun to fail, but he had not learned to diminish its tasks. Though he had received one or two serious warnings, he seemed unwilling to concede that he was not as strong and capable of as much endurance or indulgence as in earlier life—the not uncommon mistake of men who have from their youth up enjoyed a good constitution and vigorous health.

The death of our representative was a severe shock to the American colony in Paris, with whom he was deservedly popular for his genial manners, his generous hospitality and his manly character. To his family his loss was more than a domestic affliction. It suddenly reduced them from a position of great influence and dignity to comparative obscurity, and at a moment when, humanly speaking, the advantages of position were most precious to them. To me it threatened changes to which no consul could be indifferent, changes which could hardly prove desirable and might prove quite the reverse. To the country it threatened the choice of a new minister for this important post, at a time when she most needed the experience and perfected relations with which Mr. Dayton had been for the past four years equipping himself.

The responsibility of arranging for the public funeral devolved mainly upon me. The church was crowded. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Prince Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador, were among the assembly. The Emperor was represented by one of his chamberlains and a squad of soldiers.

From Prévost-Paradol I received a note stating that had he known that a religious ceremony was to take place at the Rue

de Berri, he would certainly have been there. "Trusting in the future of your noble country," it concluded, "and the justice of your cause, I am," etc.

After the religious services conducted by the Rev. Mr. Sunderland, the pastor of the American Chapel, it became my duty to make a few remarks introducing our valued friend M. Laboulaye of the Institute, who, by my invitation, had promised me to be with us on this occasion.

BIGELOW'S ADDRESS INTRODUCING PROFESSOR LABOULAYE

The melancholy event which has brought us together to-day has not only carried a barbed sorrow into the bosom of an affectionate domestic circle, but it has deprived one of the learned professions of an accomplished jurist, our country of a discreet and experienced statesman, and our Government of a distinguished diplomatist.

In view of the national character of the loss which has been sustained in the death of Mr. Dayton, I feel that it may be permitted to me, who for some three years past have shared with him, though in a humble way, the responsibilities of representing the interests of our country people in this empire, to profit by the invitation of our pastor to offer here in the presence of his mortal remains a brief tribute to the memory of a friend.

My personal relations with our late Minister had been more intimate, perhaps, than our ordinary official intercourse required, for the grave trials through which our country has been passing very naturally tended to bring all Americans, and especially such as sustained official responsibilities, into relations of peculiar intimacy with those who sympathized in their anxieties.

But for the consoling conviction that, in the wise economy of Providence, no one ever dies too soon or lives too long, our grief to-day might be aggravated by the reflection that Mr. Dayton was taken from us at a period of life when most men's usefulness to the world only begins to be manifest. Measured by its years his life seemed to have been brought to a prema-

A.D. 1807

A.D. 1864

William L. Dayton

President Lincoln's first Minister to France

ture close. But measured by its results Mr. Dayton was an old man. At the early age of thirty-five, and when most men are content to begin their public career, he was already clothed with the highest legislative honors of the Republic. After an almost uninterrupted term of honorable service of twenty-two years, death overtook him in the discharge of what under existing circumstances deserves perhaps to be regarded as the most dignified political trust, save one, which his country could confer. Men have lived many years, some have achieved greater distinctions, but what man was ever born with an ambition so extravagant that, looking back from the end of the longest life to such results, he could not feel that, so far as public honors are a test, he had filled the measure of his own as well as of his country's utmost expectations?

Nor was Mr. Dayton's eminence due in any respect to those vulgar arts and expedients which too frequently impair the value of political honors. I am not aware that the breath of calumny ever tarnished the lustre of a single act of his public life. Of all our statesmen who have reached equal distinction, I cannot recall one whose personal character and motives have been more uniformly respected by his political adversaries even in the most heated moments of partisan strife. When Boileau was warned of the swarms of enemies he would make by publishing his Satires, he replied: "Je vivrai si honnêtement que je ne laisserai de prétexte à la calomnie." It was precisely in the same way, by the rectitude of his conduct, the cleanliness of his public life, that Mr. Dayton sheltered his character from the shafts of malice and detraction.

Mr. Dayton also possessed in a considerable degree that first of all the Christian graces, truthfulness. I do not mean by that merely that he would not say what was false: he could not act falsely. He scorned all indirection. This may seem too common a quality among statesmen and too much a matter of course to be selected for special eulogy. Those who think so have had either a more extensive or a more fortunate experience than mine.

It was this notable probity which inspired confidence, and a singularly urbane and affable manner which went at once to the heart of all who approached Mr. Dayton, that made him so useful and therefore so much in demand for public stations. He was always a conciliator and a harmonizer. How much his

country may owe to those precious qualities during his residence in France may never be fully known, but I am happy to say that they have already been officially recognized more than once on both sides of the Atlantic.

The honorable trust from which Mr. Dayton has just been summoned by the remorseless hand of death has been held by many illustrious men, beginning with Franklin, the most illustrious of them all, but none of them had to sustain a heavier burden. I believe it shortened his days. If it did, it gave to him that crowning glory celebrated by the Latin Muse, of knowing how sweet it is to die for one's country.

But it does not become me to attempt Mr. Dayton's eulogy, much less to speak of his career as our Minister in this country. That duty belongs to more competent and less partial witnesses. Among the number of such witnesses who assist in this melancholy occasion I notice one whose name is equally known and respected in both hemispheres, Professor Laboulaye of the Institute of France. I am sure he will pardon me for saying that if our common sorrow shall inspire him to make any remarks in this presence, they will be listened to with profound satisfaction.

When I stopped, M. Laboulaye rose from his seat just at my left and spoke as follows. His discourse on this occasion is entitled to be preserved as a part of the history of the Civil War, even if it were not an affecting and impressive tribute to the memory of an eminent public servant.

Messieurs:

Je cède à l'invitation de l'honorable Mr. Bigelow; il est bon qu'une voix française et amie rende un dernier hommage à un homme qui laisse en France les plus honorables souvenirs et les plus sincères regrets.

Messieurs, il y a bientôt cent ans, que, au milieu d'une crise terrible, l'Amérique et la France se sont liées d'une amitié irrévocable. Il y a eu quelquefois des nuages entre les gouvernements, il n'y en a jamais eu entre les peuples. Pour un concitoyen de Lafayette, le compatriote de Washington ne sera jamais un étranger. L'Amérique n'a pas été moins fidèle à cette alliance et pour l'entretenir elle nous a toujours

envoyé comme Ministres de politiques les plus habiles et les plus sages. C'est Franklin qui a fondé et cementé cette amitié, et après lui sont venus Jefferson, qui donnait de si bons conseils à nos constituants; Gouverneur Morris, cet esprit si fin et si ingénieux; Edward Livingston, le réformateur des lois penales—je ne parle que des morts. Mr. Dayton figurera dignement sur cette liste de noms glorieux.

Messieurs, rappelez-vous, dans quelles circonstances Mr. Dayton est venu en 1861 représenter les États-Unis près de la France. Je ne veux blesser personne; dans un pareil jour, en un tel lieu, il n'y a de place que pour l'amitié et pour les regrets. Mais je puis dire que le grand malheur de la guerre civile, c'est à la fois d'affaiblir un peuple au dedans et de l'amoindrir au dehors. En pareil cas il y a pour un ministre une inquiétude, une susceptibilité plus grande que de coutume; on défend la dignité de son pays.

Mr. Dayton fut à la hauteur de cette tâche délicate. Grace à sa franchise, à sa loyauté, à sa courtoisie j'en appelle a l'honorable ministre que j'aperçois ici,[1] il sut maintenir les relations des deux pays sur le meilleur pied, à des conditions égales, c'est à dire également honorable, pour les deux pays. C'est là un service rendu à la France non moins qu'à l'Amérique et qui gardera à l'avenir le nom de Mr. Dayton. Parler d'avenir. J'oublie que je suis en face de la mort. Que reste-t-il de nous, qu'un peu de poussière bientôt évanouie en souvenir, qui s'efface et s'éteint avec le dernier soupir de ceux qui nous ont aimés! Et cependant pour ceux qui survivent, c'est une consolation, c'est un besoin que de parlé des mérites, qui les accompagnent au pied du tribunal suprême et leur vaudront, nous l'esperons, l'éternelle miséricorde. Et heureux peut-être celui, qui, comme Mr. Dayton, peut se présenter avec les services qu'il a rendus à la patrie, et peut dire qu'il a toujours soutenu la cause qu'il a cru (et que je crois comme lui) la cause de la justice, de l'humanité et de la liberté.

Mr. Dayton was the second diplomatic representative of the United States at the French court whose funeral it had been my duty to attend. The other was that of the Hon. John Y. Mason, who died in October, 1859.

With no disposition to countenance an idle superstition, I will here mention one of those curious coincidences out of which idle superstitions are born. In the spring of 1864, and some eight or nine months before Mr. Dayton's death, I gave a dinner at the club of which I was a member—the Cercle du Chemin de Fer—to some of the prominent Americans who then chanced to be in Paris with letters or commissions of some

[1] M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Ministre des affaires étrangères de la France.

sort from Mr. Seward. When I came to make my diagram of the table, I found I had just thirteen guests. Bishop McIlvaine, who was one of them, had brought his son, rightly presuming that I had neglected to include him in my invitation because I had not been aware of his being in the city.

I submitted the case to Mr. Richards, also one of my guests, and asked what I had best do. He laughed at the thought of attaching any importance to the number of the guests, provided they were agreeable, and suggested that if nothing was said about it the number would probably not be noticed. I followed his advice; we were thirteen at table, and Mr. Dayton of course occupied the seat at my right. Within the year most of my guests on this occasion attended his funeral.

I sent the remains of Mr. Dayton to the United States in charge of James W. Brooks of Massachusetts, who was then holding the post of Vice-Consul.

On the day following Mr. Dayton's death I wrote a letter to Mr. Seward in which I suggested Edward Everett as one whose name, I thought, ought to be considered in the selection of a successor to the vacant mission. Mr. Everett had been Senator of the United States, Secretary of State, and Minister to England; and, though not originally a Republican, had latterly shown some anxiety to identify his name with the efforts making to save the country. Sympathy with the Union cause was then the only political test we could afford to impose. Mr. Everett was not appointed, however.

On the 8th of December I addressed the following letter to Mr. Seward, premising that some months previous I had applied to be relieved of the consulate and allowed to return to my books and the "peaceful life of thoughtful joy" to which, when I retired from the *Evening Post,* I had proposed to consecrate the remaining days of my life.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, December 8, 1864.

My dear Mr. Seward:

The result of the late election, which was more worthy of a National thanksgiving than any event, humanly speaking,

which has occurred in America since the Revolution, puts me at liberty, I hope, to seek once more for relief from the duties of this consulate.

I need not repeat the reasons, most of which remain in force, for my desire to return to my country, for a brief season at least, and to pursuits more congenial to my taste and training. I think you could hardly have expected me to remain here much longer under any circumstances; it is therefore desirable that my successor should be appointed as soon as possible, that the government may profit the longer by his experience. It does not occur to me that in the present tranquil aspect of our relations with France my residence here can continue to be of importance to the government, or that you will now experience any difficulty in replacing me to your satisfaction. Should you, however, compliment me by entertaining a contrary impression, permit me to offer a suggestion. Mr. Brooks, who has been Vice-Consul at this post for the last two years, is perfectly familiar, as the department has occasion to know, with the duties of the consulate. My estimate of his qualifications has been communicated to the Department already. If appointed in my place he would give entire satisfaction, I have no doubt, both to those interested here and to the government.

I would leave with him, for a time at least, if desired, my American library, which is of great service in meeting the constant demands for information about our affairs, and during the remainder of my stay here, which I would prolong if necessary for such a purpose, I would look a little after such matters as alone have made my presence here an affair of any special importance.

Should it prove, however, that I have been wrestling with a phantom and that you have a person in your mind to replace me, it would suit my convenience to be relieved as soon as possible, that I may return to my country, which I am still rude enough to prefer as a home to any other.

I have mentioned the use I have made of his name to Mr. Brooks, but I have said nothing which would lead him to make any application in his own behalf or to have any volunteered by any of his friends. He comprehends precisely the grounds on which, and on which only, his name is mentioned by me in connection with the consulate. He will accompany the remains of our late Minister to the United States, and during his

absence he will visit Washington and of course call to pay his respects.

One word more. From something which has occurred in the letters of two or three of our common friends, I have some reason to infer that a disposition exists in the department to call me into diplomatic service.

In spite of the indelicacy of my noticing such a report, I feel that it is but just to you, sir, whose kindness and indulgence I have so frequently experienced during my residence here, to say that in the desire I have expressed to return to the United States I have made no mental reserves whatever. I assure you that I would not regard any diplomatic appointment in Europe as a personal kindness farther than it reflected the approval of my past conduct by my government and country people. I have a large young family growing up and requiring more of my time and attention than in a diplomatic station I might be able to bestow upon them, and who would not be profited by the associations it would surround them with. I have no ambition which a diplomatic career would satisfy even if it were successful, which is more than I could promise myself with any confidence. While I am prepared, therefore, to do anything that I can for my country in her great need and to show reasonable deference to the opinion of others as to the post in which I can be most useful, I beg you will understand that I do not wish the President to keep me in Europe a day, in any position however dignified, out of regard to myself or of any services of mine which he may possibly think worthy of some official recognition.

I hope you will excuse the length of this note relating to matters so largely personal to myself, and believe me, my dear sir, very truly and gratefully yours

The declining of diplomatic honors before they were offered, which occurs in this letter, requires some explanation.

I had received an intimation from a correspondent that it was in the contemplation of the President before Mr. Dayton's death to make me a minister, and the mission to Spain was mentioned as likely to be offered to me. It was to spare the

Secretary the inconvenience of offering me some barren compliment of this sort, and myself the necessity of declining it, that I wrote so much of this letter as relates to that subject.

When I call such a compliment a barren one, I mean a barren one to me, as I had fully made up my mind to decline it, if tendered, and return to the United States, where I thought I could be more useful than I had any prospect of being in Europe. I was weary, too, of official life; of belonging to everybody but myself; of attending to everybody's affairs but my own; of living among strangers and seeing my children growing up with no early associations with home and country and kindred.

It is by no means certain that if Mr. Seward had offered me the mission to Spain I should have declined it, because after my letter he would not have been likely to offer it except for reasons which would have been as operative upon me as upon him.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

December 9, 1864.

My dear Mr. Seward:

On the 7th instant an article appeared in the *Opinion Nationale* of this city entitled "Diplomatie Américaine," apropos of the last two volumes of Diplomatic Correspondence received from the State Department.

On the following day an article appeared in the same journal apropos of an extract from an address of M. Haussmann, Préfet of the Seine, which you will find at length in the *Moniteur* of the 6th of December. The day after the latter article appeared Monsieur Guéroult, chief editor of the *Opinion* and deputy of the Seine to the Corps Législatif, was sent for by the Minister of the Interior. He went, and an interview took place in the presence of M. Chaix d'Estange, Vice-President of the Commission Municipale of the City of Paris, and *Commissionnaire du gouvernement auprès du Corps Législatif.*

After a brief conversation on questions of internal policy the Minister remarked to M. Guéroult:

"Ought the government to consider the article on American Diplomacy day before yesterday in the *Opinion Nationale* as a warning or censure addressed to it.[1] The object of this article could hardly have been merely to make a eulogy—a little pompous but perhaps merited—of American diplomacy, but rather to criticise European diplomacy and especially that of France. You have chosen the precise moment when the *Livre Jaune* of the Minister of Foreign Affairs is in course of preparation. Agree, sir, that you are a little too exacting. Formerly they communicated nothing to you. Of late years we give you the *Livre Jaune,* and you are not satisfied."

M. Guéroult replied: "We cannot help contrasting the meagre French *Livre Jaune* with the large volumes, so complete, published by Mr. Seward. We do not presume to give a warning or censure, but we cannot help envying the open diplomacy as it is practiced in America."

The Minister rejoined: "One would almost be tempted to think there was a fixed determination or combination to offer the United States always as an example for everything. Only yesterday you were exalting the American municipal system at the expense of ours."

M. Chaix d'Estange then asked if M. Guéroult was entirely sure of the correctness of his information about the *Organisation municipale* of the District of Columbia.

I give you this conversation as it was reported to me, simply adding that both articles seemed to have hit the government in a tender place.

Yours very sincerely

[P.S.] This conversation must never transpire!

[1] The article complained of by the Minister had been sent by me to M. Guéroult, the editor, on a venture, hardly hoping that he would dare to print it. No doubt he presumed a little for support upon his somewhat intimate relations with Prince Napoleon. The article was entitled "Open Diplomacy."

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1864.

Sir:

I have received your despatch of the 2d of December, which was written upon the lamentable occasion of the sudden decease of our minister plenipotentiary, the late William L. Dayton, Esq. That event is regarded by the President with profound grief and sorrow. The public character of the deceased, together with the gratitude of the government and people of the United States for faithful and important services at a critical period of our national life, will be an inestimable inheritance for his bereaved and afflicted family and kindred.

It is thought expedient that you should assume the care of the legation as chargé d'affaires *ad interim,* until the vacancy in the mission shall be filled by appointment of a minister plenipotentiary, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. A letter of credence is herewith sent you. You will make such a temporary appointment of consul as your judgment shall approve, and will report thereon to this department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

I also received by the same mail some other letters, extracts from which belong to the history of the time.

SENATOR E. D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 1864.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

By the same mail which conveys you this you will receive from the State Department official information of what has taken place temporarily in relation to the vacancy in the French Mission caused by the sudden and much lamented

decease of our Minister at Paris, the Hon. William L. Dayton, news of which we received by telegraph from New York on the 20th instant.

On the same day I had an interview with Mr. Seward privately, and then there was an understanding that you should take the temporary or present charge of the Mission at Paris, just as was carried out on the following day by the action of the President and Senate. Now, as you may not hear from others what will probably take place, I will gossip a little with you. Hon. John P. Hale, who will be an *Ex* on the 4th of March, told me he was a candidate and wanted my influence, saying at the same time that my colleagues in the Senate signed his petition with readiness and with great pleasure. I declined and gave my reasons that I was in favor of Mr. Bigelow, who was in every respect fitted and peculiarly well qualified to discharge the duties, and in addition was a warm personal friend. He left. You will observe in this that I have not forgotten to say *no* and that I can do it just as readily in Washington as in Albany. But the mail will close if I continue in this strain, without my letter. Therefore I will only say, while up to this moment the names are *very numerous* who are to have the appointment and not much said by those who are to make it, my own belief is that the appointment will be offered to you with the expectation that you will accept it, and under the belief that at this time no better appointment can be made. Of course I need not say that I am for you first, last and all the time.

Faithfully yours

GEORGE D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

Irvington, Dec. 23, 1864.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

The death of Mr. Dayton filled me with regret for his untimely end, and with interest in your being made his successor. There are a multitude of applicants for the post, and I am glad there are so many, for put Blair and Raymond out of the way, and I see no others in your way. I wrote Edwin on the instant, and so far as I have any influence it is yours. The giv-

ing you the post *ad interim* shows the confidence of the Government in you, and so far as I hear any expressions they are favorable to you. Hale of the Senate will not be thought of for a moment. I want you to go in for it with all your might. Seward will decide it, and Weed, though busy just now showing up Opdyke, is your friend. I know or hope Welles is for you beyond all others. Don't say you do not wish it. It is a post that will do you honor, and one which can give you great power to be useful to your country. We are just now very hopeful that the end is near; the signs were never so many and promising as now; the democrats are becoming abolitionists, and on every hand tokens of the downfall of the rebellion abound. I hope and trust the Steamers will now carry to your side, in quick succession, news of the downfall of Savannah and Wilmington, to be followed by Charleston. . . . Grant has held all the great strength of the South in and near Richmond, enabling our other armies to waste and destroy the enemy at all other points. Whether this has been intended or not, it has proved very wise and successful. Sherman, Grant, Thomas and Sheridan, Farragut, Porter and Winslow are at the very zenith of fame, Sherman as a fighting man at the head.

Snow eight inches deep, sleighing never better, the thermometer this morning stood at 6 above zero. Ice abundant crop for next year. We are likely with signs of peace to have a declining market and lower rates for stocks, excepting Governments, the coming year, but I see no reason for a great panic. Speculators will make or break as the war goes on or ceases, but the industry of the country is great, and Chase's wise war tariff is doing our country great and permanent service.

My wife joins me in affectionate regards to your good wife, dear Grace, little Jenny, and the boys.

Ever sincerely yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Washington, December 24, 1864.

Sir:

Referring to my instruction No. 1, enclosing your commission as chargé d'affaires *ad interim* to France, and your cre-

dential letter, I have to observe that you will find in the records of the legation personal instructions which will be sufficient for your guidance. No special instructions are deemed necessary at present for a gentleman so conversant with the relations between the two countries as yourself.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON. Dec, 26, 1864.

My dear Bigelow:

I am keeping my secular Christmas as I did the religious one, by working at my desk. There is no end to work in these revolutionary times. I have your note of the 8th inst. If I could have had my *wish* I would have sent you a full Commission as Minister. But and but. What I have done is satisfactory. Please let it stand—put as it is at present. I cannot say for how long. That depends on another than I. You have authority to do what you think best with the Consulate. I will see Mr. Brooks when he comes here.

I am sorry that you cannot stay abroad until the war is over. People here are thinking that will be very soon. But I must not prophesy. When it is over safely I shall feel that neither you nor I have lived in vain.

Faithfully (although I do write enigmas)

Your Friend

V

CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AT PARIS

WHILE sitting quite alone in my office at the consulate in the Chaussée d'Antin the morning of the 3d of January, 1865, Mr. Edward G. Buffum, then and till his death, I believe, the Paris correspondent-in-chief of the *New York Herald,* entered with his face wreathed in smiles, and offered me his congratulations. I asked him for what. "Why," said he, "have n't you heard the news?" I replied that I had heard nothing that entitled me to anybody's congratulations that I was aware of. "You have been appointed Chargé d'Affaires in place of Mr. Dayton." He then proceeded to read a telegram which had just been received from Queenstown at the banking house of Munroe & Co.

I cannot say that the thought had never crossed my mind that I might possibly be appointed temporarily at least to this mission, for the night before Mr. Dayton's funeral H. S. Sanford, our Minister at Brussels, called upon me, and in the course of a long conversation about Mr. Dayton's death and its possible consequences said to me: "This mission lies between you and me, with the chances in your favor." I had not before dreamed that Mr. Seward, with whom I had never held intimate personal relations, estimated my abilities, my services or my friendship sufficiently to think of translating me from a consulate to one of the highest and certainly at the moment one of the most responsible positions under our Government. I was scarcely less surprised by the intelligence that Buffum brought than I had been a few days before by the announcement of Mr. Dayton's death; for I took it for granted that such an office would go to some person of larger experience in political and administrative affairs.

The first confirmation of my appointment reached me through the *Boston Advertiser* of the 24th of December, in a dispatch from Washington which stated that I was nominated by a message to the Senate from President Lincoln, upon the special request of the Secretary of State, and that on motion of Senator Sumner, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, the nomination was "confirmed unanimously and without the usual reference to a committee."

It was on the 11th of January, 1865, that I received President Lincoln's commission as Chargé d'Affaires, and on the 4th of April following his commission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of France. Of this position I continued to discharge the duties until the Stars and Stripes floated over the Capitol of every State and Territory in our Union, and all the differences between our Government and France had been peacefully and, so far as we were concerned, satisfactorily adjusted.

From the beginning until near the close of my official residence at the French court, I had to deal with a sovereign whose plans were liable at any moment to involve us in a most inopportune war with our first and indeed our only national ally. The blockade of the insurgents' ports, which cut off from western Europe to a serious extent its customary supply of cotton, rice and tobacco, bore heavily upon some of the most important manufacturing industries of England, France, Germany and Belgium, besides seriously affecting their revenues. The recognition of the insurgents as belligerents; the building and equipping of armed vessels to prey upon our commerce; the occupation of Mexico by France, with the view of imposing an Austrian prince upon the throne from which the Emperor Yturbide had been expelled only forty-odd years before; the undisguised sympathy of the seaboard states of Europe with the insurgent Government, together with an almost universal impression, which emissaries from the insurgent States had for three or four years been insidiously propagating, that two republics at least would be found at the close of the war occupying the territory which had theretofore been occupied by the United States alone—all these circumstances conspired to make the life of a representative of the Union Government in Europe one of unceasing distrust, contention and anxiety. During all that period I was not permitted once to leave Paris

for any distance which I could not retrace in five or six hours. In the voluminous correspondence between the Government at Washington and its foreign representatives, to which this state of things gave rise, is now to be found the only history in existence of a series of perils far more threatening to the Union than the embattled armies with which it was engaged. But for the encouragement received by the disunion conspirators from England and France previous to the election of President Lincoln, it is not probable that the slave States would have ventured any further in defiance of the Federal Government in 1861 than they had done in 1832, during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson; and if they had ventured to take up arms against the Government without the assured encouragements which they actually received from those two nations, and without the recognition as an independent power which they confidently expected, Mr. Seward's prophecy, on his way to take his seat in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, of a sixty days' war would not have seemed so chimerical as it afterwards appeared.

No member of Mr. Lincoln's Government had any suspicion, on the day of his inauguration, of the extent to which the minds of the leading men on the other side of the Atlantic, financiers as well as statesmen, had been poisoned toward the Government at Washington by the official representatives and satellites of the retiring Administration. To antidote this poison, to rectify the impressions thus insidiously instilled among the ruling classes, and to avert their effects where they could not be corrected, was the chief and most arduous of the duties of the gentlemen whom President Lincoln selected for foreign service in 1861. Contrary to first impressions, France proved ultimately to be the storm-centre from which the Union had most to apprehend. When the Confederate commissioners urged the Emperor to recognize the insurgent Government, they were given to understand that he was ready to unite with England in such recognition, and possibly would grant it without her. When Captain Bullock experienced unexpected trouble in building and equipping vessels of war for the Confederates in British dockyards, he went to France, and there, with the express but carefully disguised sanction of the Imperial Government, proceeded to construct several vessels of war, some of which were more formidable than any

then afloat, and which, had they escaped the vigilance of the foreign agents of the Union Government, must have greatly prolonged our war, compelled an inglorious peace, or led to the dismemberment of our Republic.

When the perils of disunion were happily averted by the capture of Jefferson Davis and the surrender of Lee's army early in 1865, we were confronted with new perils more formidable in some respects than those from which we had just been delivered.

To conciliate the Church of Rome and the Emperor of Austria, from whose hostile influence Napoleon's dynasty had most to apprehend, and also to check the progress of the Anglo-Saxon race on the American continent, a hereditary Gallic lust, the Emperor of France, at an early stage of our domestic troubles, allowed himself to undertake to impose a brother of the Emperor of Austria upon the Mexican people, with imperial rank and powers. That was a step which could not possibly result otherwise than in the humiliation either of France or of the United States. Happily for us, it did not result in the humiliation of the United States. A war between us was probably averted only by the Emperor's retirement from Mexico and the execution of his imperial protégé.

No history of these schemes, not to speak of others only less momentous, in all of which the dignity and perpetuity of our national Union were involved, can ever be properly written, nor the fluctuations of our national fortunes fully appreciated, without a careful study of the correspondence exchanged by the respective governments during the four years which succeeded the outbreak of the Rebellion at Charleston in 1861. Of that correspondence, which was necessarily far more voluminous than for any corresponding period of our national annals, but a very inconsiderable part has ever been printed, and that portion for the most part has been accessible only to the very restricted class who read such of these documents as are printed for Congress. The great body of it is still to be found only in the Archives of the State Department, where it is liable to rest undisturbed for centuries to come, for the simple reason that its historic value is known to very few, probably to none who would take the trouble and could afford or would care to incur the expense of having it copied and printed. I apprehend that I am the only one still living sufficiently familiar with the history of the period covered by that

correspondence to furnish the side-lights necessary to a proper comprehension of much of it. I find I have survived both the Presidents and all the members of their respective Cabinets who constituted the executive officers of our Government during and just after the Civil War, all the members of the Committees of Foreign Affairs in both houses of Congress, and, I believe, all my colleagues in the diplomatic service of the United States during the same period. It has been with this conviction that I have undertaken to arrange and edit these papers I am now submitting to the public and placing where they may some day prove, perhaps, a contribution of no mean importance to the history of a struggle in which government of the people, by the people, for the people, was subjected to the severest test from which it ever did or is ever likely triumphantly to emerge. Whoever has occupied for any considerable time a position of national reach and importance must have seen, heard and done things which could hardly fail of acquiring a historic value not to be correctly measured either by the weakness or the force of the incumbent.

It will be seen, by what has already been submitted to the reader, that I have not undertaken to write a history of our relations with France or with any other country during the Civil War, or to do much more than give the correspondence that passed through my hands that has seemed essential to a comprehension of those relations, with such elucidating commentary as seemed necessary. Though what I have here given may seem voluminous, it embraces but a small portion of the correspondence which passed between the United States and her representatives in France for the period it covers. I have sought to omit everything of transient concern and such parts of documents as had already lost most of whatever historic interest they once possessed. I have faithfully endeavored not to swell these pages with anything which does not promise aid in solving the many important problems presented for solution by the War of the Rebellion and in making clear the precedents by which we have bound ourselves to other nations and to posterity by the way we dealt with them.

Among these I would especially signalize:

1. Our financial methods for raising the means of prosecuting the most costly war, whether civil or foreign, ever waged within historic times.

2. The abortive efforts to compass a peace without extin-

guishing slavery, which was the provocation of the war, and without which extinction a permanent peace was impossible.

3. The principles of international law recognized in the surrender of the Confederate commissioners taken by Captain Wilkes from the English steamer *Trent*.

4. The views of what constituted a belligerency then, so widely at variance with what our Government was persuaded to adopt toward Spain in dealing with her Cuban dependency.

5. To what extent, if to any, the so-called Monroe Doctrine received confirmation from the abandonment of Maximilian in Mexico by the Emperor of France.

6. How far our success in suppressing the Rebellion and in discouraging the intervention of foreign states in favor of the insurgent States was affected by conditions which no longer exist except in a very modified degree, such as the then recent discovery of vast stores of wealth in precious metals, iron and mineral oil; the threading of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific with thousands of miles of railways, with their telegraph lines, which opened vast territories of virgin soil for the attraction of emigrants at a nominal price, through which our armies were recruited with a diminished strain upon the industries of the North.

7th, and finally. The uncrowned pretender, King Cotton, the Dagon of Dixie,

> Who mourned in earnest, when the captive ark
> Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopp'd off
> In his own temple, on the grunsel edge,
> Where he fell flat, and shamed his worshippers.

Though this collection consists mainly of official correspondence, I have not limited myself to it, but have freely used private correspondence whenever it sheds new or stronger light. And it is only from such letters that the time consumed in putting down the Rebellion of 1861–65 can be comprehended. The influence of popular opinion, of course, more or less controls the action of any popular government; but one needs to read the private letters written in a public crisis to realize how difficult it is for an administration to ascertain the opinion of a nation—its fluctuations from day to day, and in critical times from hour to hour. The private letters which have been thought worthy of appearing in this collection, all

in some sense from representative men, will be found to express at times a most confusing diversity of opinion, not only of one writer's from another's, but of what each, at different times, uttered as his own. To what extent these diversities and fluctuations of public sentiment affected the counsels of the Government and explained the apparent dilatoriness of our armies will never be known; but probably enough will appear in this correspondence to show that no great war was ever waged before under equal disadvantages from such a source. I think it no exaggeration to say that every member of the executive branch of the Government was at times alternately denounced to the verge of criminality and commended as extravagantly for what he did or omitted to do, and this, too, often by intimate friends and devoted followers. It was this torrent of criticism, founded on only a partial knowledge of the situations which in great crises have so frequently resulted in converting what aimed to be free into despotic governments, which, no doubt, forced President Lincoln's Government to usurp many doubtful powers, from the strain of which our Constitution has not yet fully recovered.

As usual with all revolutions, every one had his own theory of the way this one ought to be conducted, and that theory was proclaimed recklessly from the housetops. No one, however, had the satisfaction of having his own theory realized or any of his prophecies fulfilled. Yet all the friends of the Union had the satisfaction of witnessing the realization of far speedier and more important results than any one had presumed to hope or even to dream.

Referring a moment to the seventh of the "precedents by which we have bound ourselves to other nations and to posterity by the way we dealt with them," I am tempted here to invite the reader's attention to a curious illustration of the voluntary, cultivated and stolid ignorance entertained by the statesmen of the Confederacy in regard to the resources and strength of the free States, and especially of their pretensions that their cotton harvest controlled the public policy of the cotton-spinning nations of Europe. The fact was and is that the interruption of cotton supplies from the South was but a flea-bite in comparison with the interruption of the domestic and European commerce of the free States. I am happy to be able to quote the authority of a birthright Southern man

and slaveholder on that subject, whose authority no Southerner would question. In a correspondence between the late Mr. James Robb, formerly a banker in New Orleans, and the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, in 1863, Mr. Robb wrote:

It is proper to correct an inaccuracy in my "Letter to an American in Paris," made in the following observations:

"The cotton crop of the South in 1860 and 1861 numbered about 4,500,000 bales in the former, and 3,500,000 in the latter; making an annual average of 4,000,000 bales for these two years, one with the other, and which are known to have grown the largest crops yet made.

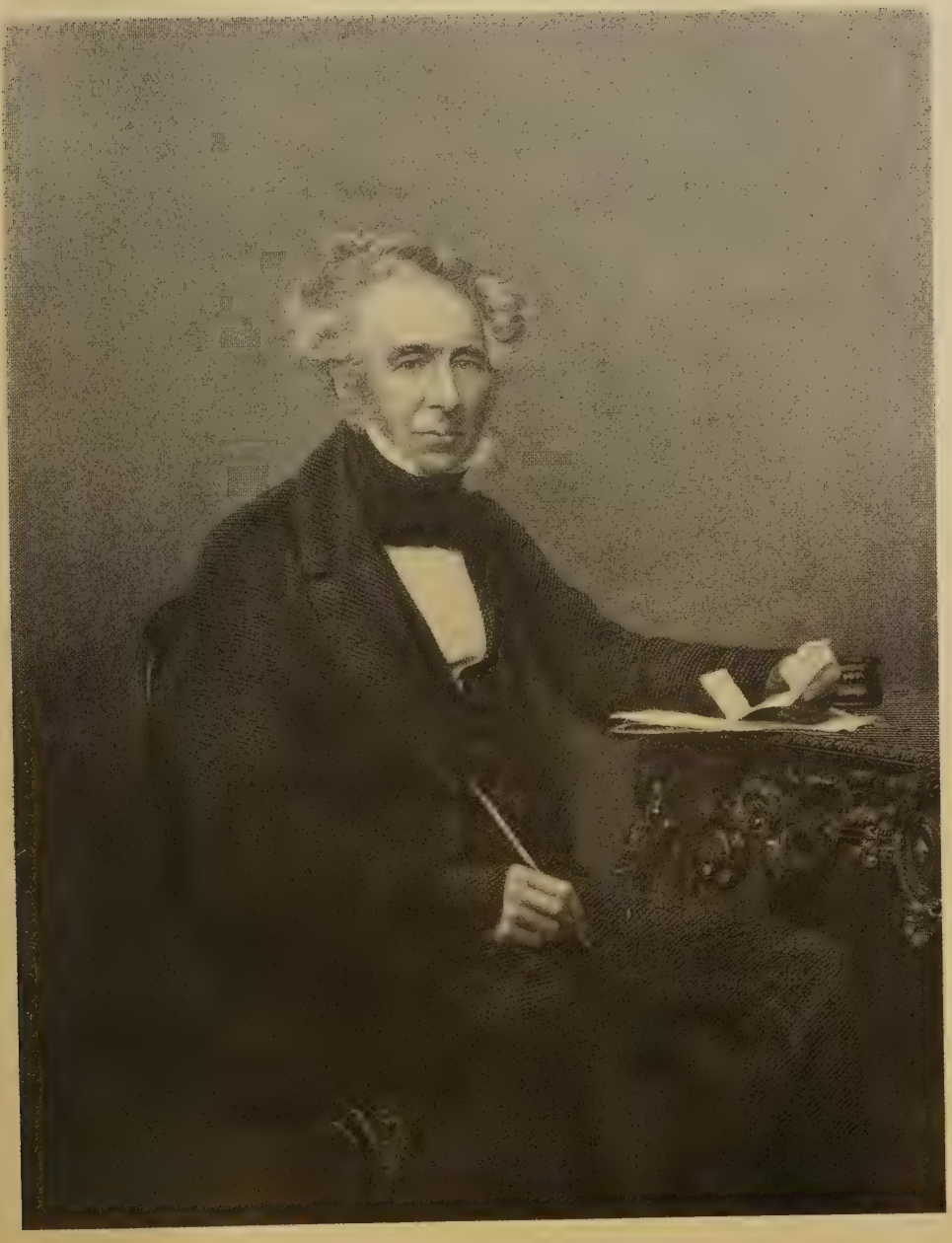
"Five bales of cotton will equal a ton in weight, and the tonnage required to carry 4,000,000 bales will amount to 800,000 tons.

"The receipts of flour and grain at the port of Chicago for the year 1861, reducing the former to bushels, exceeded 57,000,000; and estimating thirty-four bushels as equal to a ton in weight, the aggregate tonnage will exceed 1,600,000 tons, or double that furnished by the entire cotton crop of all the Southern States.

"The tonnage employed at other ports on the upper lakes, not including Buffalo, will sum up an aggregate even greater than the port of Chicago, showing the employment of transportation of the grain of the West, without any enumeration of the products of the forest, and of meats and provisions, which are so great in amount as to be equal to 16,000,000 bales of cotton, and *four times in excess of the largest average crop of two years, one with another, ever produced in the cotton States of the South.*

"The area of territory in the West, which is now the prolific nursery of its gigantic commerce carried on upon its borders, did not contain, in 1820, a population greater than 800,000 inhabitants, and only 300,000 in excess of South Carolina at that period. To-day it numbers over 8,000,000, whilst South Carolina scarcely exceeds 700,000; and if we extend comparison, in order to illustrate the progress of relative civilization, one is expanding and flourishing, and *the other languishing and decaying—one is creative, inventive, fertile in resource, and not bounded in its purpose by the clog of traditions—whilst the other is sullen and insensible to merit in anything not of itself, living upon visions, nourished by egotism, and contemplating the ruin of our noble institutions, as the grand end of its aspirations, and the consummation of its hopes, when all mankind are to recognize cotton as the superior monarch of the world, and become the willing vassals of its power.*"

Instead of thirty-four bushels of grain assumed in the preceding estimate as equal in measure to five bales of cotton, the average should



A.D. 1784 Lord Palmerston A.D. 1865

be increased to forty bushels, therefore the tonnage employed in transporting from Chicago, in 1861, its receipts of grain would amount to 1,400,000 tons, equivalent to 7,000,000 bales of cotton.

JAMES ROBB.

CHICAGO, March 1st, 1863.

The "American in Paris" referred to in the first paragraph of Mr. Robb's letter was Mr. Charles Stewart, the only son of Commodore Charles Stewart and the uncle of Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish patriot, his sister, Miss Stewart, having married Parnell's father.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE IN 1865

At the time of my accession to the legation in Paris, Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the Emperor Napoleon I., was in the fifty-seventh year of his age. At the fall of his uncle, in 1815, and in his seventh year, he accompanied his family into an exile destined to endure more than thirty years and until the downfall of Louis Philippe, in 1848, when he was permitted to return to France, and in April of that year was elected a member of the Corps Législatif. On the 10th of December of the same year he was elected President of the republic, as the successor of Lamartine. On the 1st and 2d of December, 1851, he took possession of the Government by a *coup d'état,* and ten days later caused himself to be declared Emperor. On the 29th of January, 1853, he married Mademoiselle Eugénie Marie de Montijo de Guzman, then in her twenty-seventh year.

There were three members of the imperial family with whom the diplomatic corps had most direct relations: Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul, a son of Jerome Bonaparte, born at Triest in September, 1822, elevated to the rank of Prince in 1852, and until the birth of the Prince Imperial heir apparent to the throne; his wife, the Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, the King of Italy, and the Princess Mathilde, the Emperor's cousin.

The ministers at this time were: Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Rouher, Minister of State; Fould, Minister of Finance; Marquis P. de Chasseloup-Laubat, Minister of the Marine and Colonies; Marquis de La Valette, Minister of the Interior; Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction; Behic, Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works; Baroche, Minister of Justice and Worship; Marshal Randon, Minister of War.

Troplong was President of the Senate, and the Duc de Persigny and Count Walewski were leading members of the Council of State.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom I was accredited and through whom I transacted official business, was at the time sixty years of age, thirty of which at least had been spent in the foreign service of his Government, first as Attaché at Madrid and later as Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague from 1833 to 1836. In 1840 he was called by M. Thiers to the head of the Department of Commerce in the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1842 he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies and reëlected in 1846. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly with Louis Napoleon in 1848. On the accession of the latter to the Presidency the same year, the portfolio of Foreign Affairs was confided to him. In 1849 he was appointed Ambassador to London, in 1851 reappointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1852 named by the Emperor member of the Senate and for the third time Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was the French delegate to the Conference of Vienna in 1854. Failing to induce the Emperor to accept his plans for an alliance with Austria, he resigned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1855, and in the following year relinquished his seat in the Senate, being unwilling to accept the *rôle effacé* which the Emperor imposed on that body. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. In 1862, for the fourth time, the Emperor appointed him Minister of Foreign Affairs. The same year that I entered into official relations with him, 1865, he had been made also a member of the Privy Council. "Politically," Mérimée wrote to Panizza, "c'est du gâchis, légitimiste et Papalin," but that was the judgment of an Imperialist and a stipendiary of the dynasty.

During my residence in Paris and two years before Mr. Day-

ton's death, Drouyn de Lhuys had replaced in the Department of Foreign Affairs M. Thouvenel. De Tocqueville and the latter were the two ministers of Louis Napoleon in whom France has most reason to take pride and whose displacement she has perhaps most reason to deplore. The historic question, Where is the woman? in the case of M. Drouyn de Lhuys's accession, and, I may add, in his downfall, may be regarded here with propriety, because it furnishes the master-key of the policies of the Emperor to which his downfall and the overthrow of his dynasty are generally attributed.

After the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy and the establishment of the dynasty of the house of Savoy in their place, Thouvenel wished the Emperor to withdraw his troops from Rome; but the Cabinet was not united on that issue, as we learn in a letter of M. Thouvenel to the Comte de Flahault (at that time Ambassador at London), dated September 1, 1862, which gives the reason:

> The policy which pretends to-day to bring about an accord between the Pope and the King of Italy may amuse M. de La Guéronnière and the journal *La France*. To my eyes it has no practical value. The Pope said to M. de La Valette and M. le Général de Montebello, at the cool reception he gave them, that no one could be at the same time the friend of the Italians and the friend of the Pope. You have a sufficiently good idea of me, my dear Ambassador, not to doubt my anguish; in reality I have had but one choice to make between the consequences of a clerical course or of a liberal course, and without misunderstanding the inconveniences of the second solution I esteem them less than the dangers of the first, for the Emperor *personally*, for the dynasty, and for France. It seems to me that when a problem became so arduous, so formidable, as the Roman question, the most simple way was again to examine it and take for a rule the principles of its origin. Napoleon III., pushed to the foot of the wall, ought he to act as Henry IV.? Among my colleagues who think as I do are M. Delangle, M. Billault, M. Rouher, M. Baroche, M. de Persigny, M. Rouland, M. Fould, Marshal Vaillant, M. de Chasseloup-Laubat. M. Troplong and M. de Morny are also with us. Count Walewski, Marshal Randon and M. Magne are alone in the opposite camp, but they have *une auxiliaire puissante*, and the air of the court is favorable to them. The question is, ought one to risk everything by remaining *in statu quo?* Ought we not, on the contrary, to take for our text the persistent refusals of the Pope to fix a term to our occupation?[1]

[1] Thouvenel, Le Secret de l'Empereur, Vol. II, pp. 379–382.

The *auxiliaire puissante* referred to in the above letter was of course the Empress Eugénie. The Comte de Viel-Castel, in his Mémoires, speaking of this crisis which was awaiting a solution shortly at Biarritz, tells us that on leaving the council of the ministers the evening previous to the Emperor's departure for Biarritz, the Empress said to M. Thouvenel such sharp things that he exclaimed, "Madam, if the Emperor had said the half that your Majesty has made me listen to, my resignation would already have been sent." The following month M. Thouvenel sent his resignation to the Emperor.[1]

In the summer previous to the foregoing incident the Emperor was inclined to renew official relations with Italy, interrupted by the war of 1859. To be embroiled irrevocably on a question of form with a power for the enlargement of which France had been fighting was an anomaly. M. Thouvenel, without any unbounded regard for the Government of King Victor Emmanuel, comprehended the inconveniences of this situation, which besides deprived France of an alliance which had already cost her enough to be efficacious. By special orders from the Emperor, Thouvenel had prepared a report intended to justify in the eyes of the Government and public opinion the resumption of diplomatic relations with Italy. Nevertheless the Emperor, knowing the personal sentiments of the Empress and fearing her recriminations, had asked his Minister of Foreign Affairs to bring this report in his portfolio to every meeting of the council, but not to read it without a direct invitation from him. Time rolled by, and the report did not emerge from its place of concealment. Finally one morning the Emperor said to M. Thouvenel, "Mr. Minister, I will thank you to instruct the Council of State on our relations with Italy." Thouvenel drew from his portfolio and began to read the report, as concerted with the Emperor, and which concluded with recommending a resumption of relations with Italy. The Empress, according to her habit at this period, assisted at the councils of the ministers. In the midst of the reading her Majesty rose brusquely, with signs of the most violent agitation. Tears even sprang into her eyes, and she hastily quitted the apartment, leaving the ministers stupefied. The Emperor, after a long and painful silence, then said with his habitual passivity to Marshal Vaillant, the Minister of the

[1] Le Secret de l'Empereur, Vol. II, p. 382.

Palace, "My dear Marshal, will you follow the Empress and attend her?" Afterwards the council pursued its deliberations. From this day forth the Empress treated M. Thouvenel with an extreme coolness.[1]

M. Rouher, the Secretary of State and the recognized leader of the Government on the floor of the Legislative Assembly, was at this time fifty-one years of age. He was bred to the bar and practised law in his native village, Riom, for twelve years and until 1848, when he began his political career as a member of the Constituent Assembly. In 1849 he was Minister of Justice. The day after the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, he devoted himself to the fortunes of the man who perpetrated it. He was recalled to the Ministry of Justice in 1851, and on the reëstablishment of the Empire, Napoleon placed him at the head of one of the sections of the Council of State. In 1855 he entered the Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works, taking an active part in promoting the commercial treaty with England, best known as the Cobden treaty, of 1860. In 1863 he succeeded Billault as Minister of State and became the recognized representative of the Emperor in the legislative chambers, positions which he retained until the fall of the Empire.

M. Rouher defended energetically the Constitution of 1852 and the policy of personal government, of the conception of which he appropriated to himself to a certain degree the honor. From this time to the close of the Emperor's career M. Rouher probably exercised a greater influence over the administration of his Government than any other member of the Ministry.

The only other member of the Cabinet of whom I have any occasion to speak at present is the Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat. He was at this time sixty years of age. His political career may be said to have commenced with his election to the Chamber of Deputies in 1837. In the following year he became Councillor of State. In 1849 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly, where he became the champion of the President's party. In the spring of 1851 he was called to the Ministry of the Marine, which he occupied until the fall of the same year. After the *coup d'état* he became the official candidate of the Government and was elected to the Corps Législatif in 1852.

[1] Le Secret de l'Empereur, Vol. II, p. 139.

In 1860 he was again named Minister of the Marine and Colonies, which post I found him occupying in 1865.

With the other members of the Cabinet my relations were destined to be for the most part casual and more or less informal.

Thanks to the Emperor's assistance, the Austrians had been driven out of Italy, the pontifical territory had been dismembered, and Victor Emmanuel of Savoy had been recognized by the Imperial Government as King of Italy. Forgetful of the feet of clay upon which his empire was erected, the Emperor had issued a decree authorizing the legislative bodies annually to respond to the address from his throne by another, in which their opinions of the Emperor's policies might be expressed, and the debates to which these documents might give rise were to be reproduced *in extenso* in the public journals.

This was the fateful beginning of the end of his career. It furnished the adversaries of his *régime* an opportunity of having their just and unjust criticisms reach the ears of all France. The half-dozen best debaters in the Corps Législatif, with Thiers at their head, here had an opportunity of interpreting all the discontents of the nation with a government in the origin of which no one felt any pride. These orators were, in addition to M. Thiers, Jules Favre, Émile Ollivier, Jules Ferry, Antoine Berryer, Ernest Picard and Jules Simon.

The insurrection in Poland in 1863 furnished the Emperor with the pretext, of which he foolishly availed himself, to disturb his relations with Russia. His emphatic declaration that the treaties of the Allies in 1815 had ceased to exist, and his proposition to call a congress to revise the map of Europe, resulted in a pitiful abortion. Later he allowed the courts of Vienna and Berlin to dismember Denmark, refusing to aid England in maintaining the integrity of that kingdom, because the London Cabinet did not sympathize with his views of enlarging France to the Rhine.

He had thus alienated the governments of the four chief military powers of the world—Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia. But one possible alliance of any value left him in 1864 was with Italy, and that resulted in a convention with Victor Emmanuel on the 15th of September of that year, in virtue of which French troops were to evacuate Italy in two years.

The Emperor had another army in Mexico, which, under the pretext of collecting the debts of a Hebrew speculator named Jecker, contemplated the establishment of an imperial throne in Mexico.

In no respect less unsatisfactory than the foreign condition of the empire was the condition of its finances. Every year since the Emperor's accession to power had yielded an increasing deficit, and the war in Mexico had very seriously impaired the confidence of the industrial and commercial classes in his statesmanship.

If anything more be necessary to explain the impending fate of the empire, it may be found in the character of the men and women with whom his Majesty was on most intimate personal terms, and to many of whom he had incurred obligations which deprived him of the independence and authority which no sovereign can safely part with.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

PARIS, Jan. 5, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

The Prussian Ambassador[1] and myself had a long conversation yesterday at his dinner-table about the Mexican difficulty. He had been talking with the Emperor and with Drouyn de Lhuys. He said that the Emperor realized the awkwardness of his position as fully as any one and was determined to leave Mexico as soon as he possibly could with decency and dignity. He said Prussia and the other States of Europe were interested that we should not push him to the point of humiliation, for he could bear the inconveniency of a war much better than the humiliation of a check. The first was dangerous, but the last was ruin. He also said that it was feared if we humiliated him in America that he would seek to recover his prestige by troubling Europe. He told me that no terms we could offer would be refused by the Emperor, if we

[1] The Baron Goltz.

spared his dignity and honor, and no terms without them would be worth his accepting. He seemed to doubt whether it would be possible for the Emperor to enter into a public engagement to leave Mexico entirely in less than two years, which, for so great a transaction, he thought a short time. A shorter, he thought, would have an appearance of haste that would compromise the Government.

The article in the last *Revue des Deux-Mondes* by Forcade on Mexico is said to have been permitted, or at least spared the censor, in consequence of its expressing the sentiments of influential members of the Government. From another source I am told as a current impression that it was inspired by Fould.[1]

This is sure: that the article would never have been published but for some satisfactory insurance against the censorship.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO M. MIGSON

PARIS, Jan. 6, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Upon consultation I have ascertained that it would be quite irregular for me to present a French subject to their Majesties, though she be of American origin. I am obliged therefore to content myself with recommending your daughter and her husband to apply for presentation in the French circle. I cannot doubt, from the papers you sent me and which I herewith return, that such an application will be favorably entertained.

Yours very respectfully

[1] The article of M. Forcade in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* of the 14th of December, 1864, was a commentary upon some reflections of a M. Charles Duveyrier on "The Future and the Bonapartes." The commentator embraced the occasion to point out the distinction between the way the Protestant dynasty was established in England and the steps, which had not yet been taken, to establish such a durable dynasty in France.

On Wednesday, the 11th of January, the post brought me my letter of credence as Chargé d'Affaires and the letter already cited from Mr. Seward. I availed myself of my first leisure to address to him the following letter:

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

13 January, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I have been deeply affected by the mark of confidence which you have recently bestowed on me and by the very kind letter which accompanied it. I never dared to hope that my consular career was to be so honorably crowned. I should have been quite contented to carry out of the service what little reputation I brought into it.

If anything could add to the value of such a compliment to me it would be the manner in which it was bestowed. That has confirmed me in an opinion I have long entertained and frequently expressed, that if a public officer in the United States will do his duty *because it is his duty,* his services are more likely to be overrated than underrated.

After the letter you have written me, the full mission, though it might confer additional capacity for usefulness, can confer upon me no additional honor. To be thought worthy of it, by the most competent person in the world to judge me, is all there is about the place which appeals to my ambition. It is with public dignities as with trees, the higher they are, the longer are their shadows. In leaving the shelter of my consular obscurity for such a position as this I must become an object of envy to many who would never have felt towards me as Consul an unkind thought. I shall find myself surrounded by unfamiliar temptations and perils, and, like the gambler who tempts fortune once too often, I may lose as a diplomatist the enviable reputation which you have now given me reason to suppose I have won as Consul. Should such be the result, my chief regret would be that you, as primarily responsible for calling me into the diplomatic service, would be also responsible largely to the public for the consequences.

As you gave me no means of guessing whether my tenure of office here is likely to be long or short, it is proper that I should reveal to you at once some of the embarrassments which grow out of my ignorance on that subject. The lease of the apartment now occupied by the legation expires on the last day of March. My apartment is not large enough to accommodate it with my family. When the legation is moved it is desirable that it go where it is to remain, all such changes involving great confusion of addresses, which it requires months to rectify. If I had any assurance that I was likely to remain here for any length of time, I would at once look up an apartment suitable for the legation, move into it as soon as possible, and organize my household upon a corresponding footing. Without some such assurance I am reluctant to sacrifice the rent of my own apartment for the balance of my lease, some eight months; to take another and still more expensive one for a term of years which might not suit the taste or purse of my successor, and which might become useless to me before I got into it. Neither should I wish to organize my household on a diplomatic scale of expenditure with a constant liability to have to support it all from my private income, which at the present rate of exchange would be inconvenient.

My motive in mentioning these facts to you is that you may see the disadvantages under which I must labor so long as I am merely a *locum tenens*, and realize the importance of sending some one without unnecessary delay who will possess the rank necessary to represent our country here satisfactorily, with a reasonable assurance of remaining long enough to justify such expenditures as are indispensable to his usefulness in such a position.

I am, Sir, etc.

On my way home from the consulate after the receipt of my letter of credence I stopped to take charge of the legation, which was kept in a part of Mrs. Dayton's apartments on the Rue Circulaire, opposite the Arc de Triomphe. I arranged to leave it there for the remainder of her lease, gave directions for the taking of the inventory, and addressed a note to the

Minister of Foreign Affairs requesting him to name a day when I might present my letter of credence, a copy of which I enclosed.

On the 12th, Thursday, I received a note from M. Drouyn de Lhuys fixing the following day, Friday, the 13th, at half-past one, for my reception.

In succeeding to the mission I found myself under an embarrassment to which one alone of all my predecessors had ever been subjected, being charged at the same time with diplomatic and consular duties. In Mr. Seward's dispatch announcing my appointment, he said the disposition of the consulate was left to my discretion. While this was very flattering to me, it did not in the least lighten the burden I was about to assume. Unfortunately, Mr. Brooks, whom it would have delighted me to have placed in charge of the consulate, had left for the United States with the remains of our late Minister. In the office was a bright young man by the name of Edward Tuck, a son of the Hon. Amos Tuck of New Hampshire. I had helped to examine him as consular pupil, and he had been assigned to duty at my consulate. I appointed him Vice-Consul and Acting Consul, and thus relieved myself in a measure from a class of duties which I could no longer properly discharge.

Mr. Tuck held the appointment until the arrival of Mr. Nicolay, who had been one of the secretaries of President Lincoln. He was then invited to enter the banking house of John Munroe & Co. His subsequent career has been a perpetual vindication of my choice. I am most happy to have contributed in some slight degree to promote the fortunes of one who, aside from his own admirable qualities and character, was the son of a firm and efficient friend of Free Soil in the dark days of 1848–61.

On Friday, the 13th, I waited upon M. Drouyn de Lhuys at the Palais d'Orsay, the official residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I was received by a man of about sixty years of age, as it seemed to me, rather full set but well proportioned, with a gracious expression of countenance and a deliberate and dignified carriage. His features were generally round but well marked, the top of his head a little bald, and his lower jaw indicating a man of strong propensities and will. He received me, I thought, a little mechanically, as if this was

a duty which had lost its novelty to him, but he read my letter of credence through very carefully. He probably thought, too, that his manner should testify to the fact that only the day before I was but a consul. He then spoke of Mr. Dayton very kindly, made some inquiries in regard to his death, spoke graciously of having heard me at his funeral and of having read some of my correspondence with his department, submitted by Mr. Dayton. Speaking of the relations with our respective countries, he remarked that they were delicate, very delicate, etc., with an emphasis which was evidently intended to be impressive. I alluded as modestly as I could to my inexperience as a diplomatist, to which he replied that the great art of diplomacy, if there was any, consisted in comprehending as far as possible the strength and merits of both sides of the case about which you are treating. He added that governments must treat and be treated with confidence and not with distrust, for it was with them as with merchants—a certain amount of credit was indispensable. After I came to know M. Drouyn de Lhuys better I thought many times of this conversation here briefly sketched. I left him with a feeling that he was uncertain whether he had a friend or a foe to deal with in me. It was well known by him that I was in pretty active communication with all the journals of France which sustained the Union cause in America, and that I had done a great deal through the press in arraying the popular sympathy of France against a Slavery-Perpetuating Confederacy at home and the propagation of imperialism in Mexico.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, Jan. 17, 1865.

My dear Friend:

I scarcely know how to thank you for your kind letter, or your colleagues in the Senate for their prompt and unanimous vote on my nomination. It was a more flattering recognition of my services here than I ever expected to receive.

In regard to the future disposition of the mission I have nothing to say. I desire nothing so much as that it may go to

the best man if he can be found. I do hope, however, that some disposition may be made of it very soon. . . .

It is reported from the United States to-day that Mr. Seward is to go out of the cabinet. I have heard that report too often to attach much importance to it now, except in so far as it shows that public opinion is still occupied with the quarrel between the House and the Secretary of State about Mexico. Had my advice been taken, all that fracas might have been avoided. I was by Mr. Dayton's bedside when the mail containing that dispatch in February last came in. It was just as he was recovering from a very serious illness. He asked me to open and read to him the dispatches. When I came to this one and had read it through, I said to him that if I were in his place I would not deliver a copy of it nor write anything about it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but would simply state the substance of it as on his own responsibility. I said that undoubtedly the dispatch was written to be used if found necessary, and that if Mr. Seward knew what we know of the state of feeling here and the weakness of the government in the Corps Législatif morally, he would be very glad to have Mr. Dayton exercise his own discretion in the use he would make of the dispatch. Mr. D. seemed to agree with me, and I supposed would take substantially the course I had suggested. You may judge my surprise when I saw in the report of the debate of the Corps Législatif only three or four days afterwards a circular from Drouyn de Lhuys embodying the substance of Mr. Seward's dispatch, which was read by one of the govt. orators in reply to the most effective attack made by the opposition during the whole session. That letter changed the fortunes of the day for the administration and let them out of a very tight place very unnecessarily. I will not speculate now upon Mr. Dayton's motives in disregarding my advice, but I am quite sure that if he had followed it we should have been spared several unseasonable and unprofitable demonstrations in Congress, and France would feel very much less nervous and irritable on the Mexican question than she does at present.

. . . . . .

I was told yesterday, by a gentleman whom Mr. Slidell's secretary, Eustis, had just left, that the Southerners regard their cause as hopeless. . . .

BIGELOW TO HON. AMOS TUCK

20 Jan., 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have replied to your recent letter by appointing your son Vice-Consul and Acting Consul. He will be entitled to the pay of full Consul while that office remains vacant, according to the usage established at the Paris Consulate by the present administration.

I would recommend you to see personally that his appointment as Vice-Consul is confirmed without prejudice to his rank and privilege as Consular pupil.

I think your son will ripen into a capital public officer, and I congratulate myself upon having had an opportunity of testifying in so acceptable a way the respect for his talents and character with which in so short an acquaintance he has inspired me.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

THE CONFEDERATE NAVY BUILDING IN FRANCE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, January 20, 1865.

Sir:

Referring to your despatch No. 9, I have the honor to inform you that both the iron-clad vessels referred to by you, the *Shanghai* and the *San Francisco,* have been purchased and equipped for the Peruvian navy, and have both sailed under orders of the Peruvian government.

I had this, yesterday, from the lips of Mr. Barreda, the Peruvian minister, who also informed me that the *San Fran-*

cisco sailed under the French flag for England, where she is expected to take departure as a Peruvian vessel.

She left the French port fully armed. Our consul at Nantes informs me that her coals were to be sent to her at Quiberon bay. I may here mention that the Peruvian government is now in treaty for another vessel built, at Glasgow, for the Confederate navy. The negotiation is depending only upon the news to come from America, which may render the difficulties of taking her out under the Peruvian flag insurmountable.

I am, Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 23, 1865.

Sir:

Some months since I was requested to ascertain what, if any, penal sanction attached to an oath of a French citizen, administered by a consular officer of the United States. I procured and communicated to you the verbal opinion of the *procureur impérial,* which was to the effect that the laws of France did not regard false swearing in such cases as perjury.

I have now the honor to enclose a written opinion upon the subject which differs so widely from the received opinion of the French law in the United States as to deserve publicity, especially among the members of the legal profession. Some commissions were recently sent to this consulate from California to take testimony in a large number of suits to which the United States government was a party.

The witnesses to be examined were all Frenchmen, and there was reason to apprehend that it was the intention of the parties who sued out the commission to make up in the quantity of the testimony what it might lack in quality. Under my advice, Mr. Farwell, United States naval officer at San Francisco, and special agent for the government here, applied to M. Berryer to know precisely what degree of value the laws of France attached to the oaths of French citizens adminis-

tered by a consular agent, and in what way, if any, the testimony of a French citizen taken in France could be made available in a suit pending in the United States.

Enclosed please find Mr. Farwell's letter and the opinion of M. Berryer, which, if it required any support, I may say has been confirmed out of the mouths of several French lawyers with whom I have conversed upon the subject, none of whom seemed to entertain any doubt upon the subject.

By this opinion it appears not only that no penalties attach to the false testimony of a witness, sworn before the representation of a foreign government, which can be enforced by the French tribunals, but that even letters rogatory from an American to a French tribunal for the examination of a witness are executed as a matter of courtesy only, the tribunal not professing any control whatever over the witnesses after their testimony had been delivered.

The original of this opinion will be placed on file at the Paris consulate.

Yours very respectfully

OPINION OF BERRYER

Translation

The undersigned *Ancien avocat* is of the opinion:

That the testimony of French subjects residing in France, intended to be used as evidence in a suit pending out of France, may be taken either by consular agents of the country where the suit is pending or by a French tribunal in virtue of letters rogatory emanating from a foreign tribunal having jurisdiction of the case;

That whatever be the mode adopted for receiving the depositions of witnesses, these depositions cannot be in France pursued as laying the foundation for the crime of perjury, provided for and punished by the articles 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, and 366, of the penal code;

That the provisions of these articles of the code only affect depositions taken in a civil or criminal suit pending in France;

That the taking of testimony by a foreign consular agent accredited in France, but only delegated by foreign jurisdiction to receive the declarations of witnesses, cannot be considered as constituting a criminal or civil suit pending in France; it is but a step of the proceedings

taken before foreign tribunals, of which the consular agent is the delegate or auxiliary, and it is no more the part of the French tribunals to know the consequences of this delegation than to know any other acts of the foreign procedure;

That the depositions received by the French tribunals in virtue of letters rogatory, emanating from a foreign tribunal and transmitted by the competent authority, do not constitute a suit pending before the French tribunals;

That the execution given to this commission is neither prescribed nor regulated by any law, and is in reality only a simple act of courtesy, conformable to international usages, and in no way divesting the foreign judicial authority originally having jurisdiction;

That, furthermore, the articles 361, &c., of the penal code, only affect the depositions made in a criminal matter, or case of misdemeanor, in so far as they may be offered in evidence in the oral debates, and do not conflict with the depositions received during the trial (Cassation, April 26, 1816; September 14, 1826; April 19, 1839; July 22, 1843);

That from that time, and under the circumstances hereafter indicated, the American government would not be permitted to prosecute for perjury before the French tribunals, but in virtue of the general terms of the article 1382 of the civil code, according to which *every act of man which causes another an injury obliges him by whose fault it happened to repair it*, the American government, after having judicially established the fact of perjury, could show the prejudice to it resulting therefrom, morally and materially, could pursue before the tribunals of France the French person who caused this injury, and cause him to be condemned to make reparation.

BERRYER, *Ancien Bâtonnier.*

Deliberated at Paris, January 9, 1865.

Among the French officers who coveted an opportunity of winning a fame in our Civil War, such as was achieved in the American Revolution by Lafayette and Rochambeau, was one who was destined to be for a few months more famous than either of those illustrious generals ever was, but to whom the Muse of History, I presume, will hardly care to devote more than a paragraph or two. He was commended to me by the following letter from the editor of the *Temps*.

ULYSSE LADET, EDITOR OF THE *TEMPS*, TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, 23 Jan., 1865.

Although I have no other title to your kind recollection than the fact of having had at some time since the honor of a long interview with you, I feel myself warranted in taking the liberty of presenting to you my friend, M. Boulanger, formerly a pupil of the Polytechnic School, who is about leaving for the United States. It is with great regret I cannot go myself in person to present him, but at this moment the exigencies of my daily work on the *Temps* are so imperative as to absolutely leave me no freedom at the hours you are in the habit of receiving.

M. Boulanger has some intention of taking service in the Federal armies of the United States. I dare hope that you will consent, if your grave and numerous occupations permit, to allow him a short audience; to have the extreme goodness to favor him with your counsel, and if I did not fear asking too much of you, I would add that my friend would be very happy to obtain at your hand some letters of introduction of a nature to facilitate his step and secure for him honorable relations in the New World, where he knows no one.

Please accept, sir, with the anticipated expressions of all my gratitude, the new assurance of the sentiments of high esteem and lively sympathy with which I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant,

ULYSSE LADET.

What would have been the effect upon the world's history had I encouraged, as I did not, the aspirations of the captain—I believe he was then only a captain—had he been invited to draw his sword for the Union, is one of those secrets of Providence which it would be as difficult to probe as the effect upon the world's history had Milton or Napoleon carried out the purpose both are said to have entertained at one time, of

seeking an asylum on this side of the Atlantic. This, however, we may say with entire confidence, judging from the subsequent achievements of Captain Boulanger—that the careers of the great general and the great poet would have proved far the more interesting and memorable.

I subsequently met Captain Boulanger at West Point on the occasion of his visit to the United States, in company with Count Rochambeau and some other French gentlemen, to participate in the celebration of the anniversary of the surrender at Yorktown. The impression that he left upon me there, and what I heard of his deportment during his stay in Washington, forces upon me the conviction that he did not owe to his virtues the brief prominence he subsequently obtained in France.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 27, 1865.

Sir:

Colonel de Chanal, a French officer, who had been sent by his government on a tour of observation to the United States, returned about a month ago, after a sojourn in our country of some eight months. A few evenings since he gave me, at great length, the impressions he had formed, and was communicating to his government. Some of these impressions, as they will have their influences in shaping public opinion here, seem worthy of being reported to you.

The colonel is confident that all military operations, on a large scale, will be at an end before the close of the coming summer. He entertains no doubt of the triumph of the north, and appears to have formed a less exalted opinion of the strategy and military skill of the insurgent officers than prevails generally in Europe, or perhaps in America.

I mentioned the report that the south were agitating the expediency of arming their slaves, and asked if he thought negroes would make good soldiers; if so, whether their freedmen would fight against the north; and, if so, how much strength the insurgents could realize from that source.

The colonel said he was quite satisfied that negroes made good soldiers; he spoke of a couple of regiments paraded before him by General Butler, after a three months' drill, and who went through their manœuvres, he thought, as well as French soldiers usually did after a year's drilling. He inclined to think they might sometimes cow a little in the presence of those whom they were bred to consider the master race, but to that susceptibility he did not seem to attach much importance. In the cases in which they had failed conspicuously—and he instanced the assault which followed the explosion of the mine before Petersburg—he said white soldiers would have failed also; no soldiers, he was persuaded, would have stood firm under these circumstances. He had no doubt that the slaves would fight for the insurgents about as well as against them. He spoke of the Fellahs annually recruited by violence for the army of the Viceroy of Egypt, and who are always ready to repeat upon their own people, the succeeding year, the outrages of which they had so recently been the victims. He thought, however, the amount of strength the insurgents would gain from this source would not be enough to seriously prolong the war. He estimated the number of slaves in the insurgent States now at about 1,000,000. These, he said, would not yield more than ten per cent. of available men at the outside. In Algeria his government had found that for a *razzia* of only eight or ten days, and taking every available man, they never got more than one-seventh of the population. But in these cases none were left to cultivate the soil, or to look after property. It would not be possible for the American insurgents to strip their country of its laborers in this way, for their armies depend mainly upon the culture of the soil for their sustenance, and these levies would be required to absent themselves for months instead of a few days to be of any service. He thought, therefore, that one-tenth would be a very high proportion to allow for the possible acquisitions to the insurgent armies from this source, and that would yield but about 100,000 men—altogether too small a number to resist the gathering armies of the north. Colonel Chanal satisfied himself that white labor was quite as available as black in the culture of cotton, and expressed to me his conviction that the French peasant found the culture of maize in the south of France more painful and trying to his constitu-

tion than the culture of cotton would be to them in Alabama. The colonel's observations made among the French creoles of Louisiana in regard to the past and the present relations of the negro with them were very curious and instructive, and one day, I hope, will throw their light upon the history of this great transformation, though I do not feel warranted in swelling this communication with them.

I have the honor to remain yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 7, 1865.

Sir:

The Corps Législatif is to open on the 15th instant. This announcement is a notorious breeder of rumors. Among them is one that an effort is afoot to make England and France unite in recognizing the southern confederacy, on condition that they will emancipate and arm their slaves. I mention this rumor not out of any respect for it, but to show to what silly shifts the partisans of rebellion here are driven to keep one another in countenance, and of what contortions the wounded carcase of secession is capable in its expiring agonies. The speech of Milner Gibson in England yesterday will probably bring this *canard* to an untimely end, but it will be replaced by another equally or more absurd, that will have its day on the bourse. You will find in the *Moniteur* of the 25th an article written apparently in the interest of those who extract comfort from the above rumor. It purports to be a letter from New York, dated the 10th instant, and is designed to show that the fate of slavery in the United States is sealed, and by implication that its abolition ought no longer to be regarded as the starting-point of a French or English policy in our country. Slavery has always been the stumbling-block of European disunionists, whenever they have attempted to invoke intervention. Now they are desperate enough to imagine that if they can show that slavery, the perpetuation of which was the only pretext for rebellion, is practically extinct, or in process

of rapid extinction, foreign powers will come to their rescue, and extend to them in their despair the hand which was refused to them when they were formidable. There are many so infatuated as to find pleasure in reading and hearing such stuff as this, and they are represented in the editorial management of the *Moniteur,* as well as in less important administration journals. . . .

I am, sir, etc.

In making my official calls upon the ambassadors after I had been received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, an incident occurred at my interview with the Spanish Ambassador that seems worth recording. Señor Mon was a very old man, approaching rapidly the end of a very prolonged diplomatic career and of his life. After making my rank known to him—for I had never met him—and for the lack of something better to say, by way of making myself agreeable to him I referred to the obligations which Americans more especially owed to his country for having discovered theirs and colonized it.

"Ugh!" he exclaimed, and in very bad French said: "Yes, and I am very sorry she ever did discover America, for it was the greatest calamity to my country that it ever experienced."

The old gentleman had uttered a truth that from his point of view I could not gainsay; neither was I the proper person exactly to tender my sympathy. There was no occasion, therefore, for prolonging our interview beyond the strictest requirements of courtesy. We never met again.

When, a decade ago, our American navy magnanimously restored Spain to her territorial condition before Columbus clothed her with an American shirt of Nessus, I thought what a pity the dear old man could not have lived long enough to have seen his beloved country once more in the enjoyment of the Sabbath of her mediæval rest.

When I made my official visit to the Duc de Morny his resemblance to the Emperor, though a much handsomer man, never struck me so forcibly before. He spoke of our affairs looking promising, and appealed to my companion, M. Loubat,

as a witness that he had always been our friend—though M. Loubat afterwards repeated to me a conversation which they had had together after the Mexican entanglement, when the duke's friendship was not so pronounced. There was no sense in the Rebellion, said the duke. The South had no good cause, at all events, for France to meddle with it. Nor had he personally any sympathy with those imbeciles who were always trying to get France to link her fate with Poles and Danes and Turks and all other nationalities in trouble. There was talk in our case, he said, about the Latin race, to whose progress the United States might prove a check, but that he thought of trifling consequence.

"Yes," I said, "for there are more of the Latin race in New York City than in all the Southern States, and more Catholics in the State of New York than in the whole Confederacy."

"Oh, I don't care for the Catholics; their religion is the least of my concern. I am *un homme politique,* but not *un homme religieux.*"

This was said with an air of such utter contempt for the Church as to satisfy me that nothing but fear secured to the priesthood a day's toleration in France; for his views on that question were the Emperor's, I had no doubt.

It was not until after the downfall of the empire, of which De Morny was one of the most important pillars, that I learned that he was, next to the Empress, the chief patron of the imperial scheme in Mexico, and a partner in the Jecker claim, the satisfaction of which was made its principal pretext.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, January 27, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

My presentation or rather reception by the Emperor last night was very satisfactory. I have written some details in one of my dispatches to-day. The Empress was not well enough to appear at the court ball last evening. Her health is very delicate. It is feared she has the same complaint as that

of which her sister, the Duchess d'Albe, died, cancer of the stomach. I do not know what, if any, value deserves to be attached to the report.[1] There is no doubt that ill health or something else has very much weakened the influence of her party at court, of which the Italian convention, the contingent appointment of Prince Napoleon as Regent, which is the current belief, and the refusal to have the Pope's recent Encyclical read in the cathedrals are regarded as evidence.

I hope to get M. Guizot to espouse our cause publicly. Two summers ago he told me that all his sympathies were with us, but he never made an occasion or found one to betray them to the public. I told him to-day very plainly that I thought we were entitled to something decisive from him. He said he would seize the first proper occasion, and then proceeded to say that he was going to speak of Cochin's book on Slavery in the United States, before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and asked me to give him some information about the condition of the free negro in the Northern States. Before I left he asked me to come to the meeting, which is to take place on Saturday week, and offered to take charge of me if I would come. As these meetings are not announced by the press in advance and as detailed reports of the debates are never made, it occurred to me that he might have taken the idea of saying something about our affairs in the course of the debate which will arise on that occasion, and therefore he wanted a good American witness present to hear him. I shall go, of course, and probably I shall take a stenographic reporter with me for your benefit. He asked by the way if there was any truth in the reports that you were going out of office. I told him not the least, so far as I knew; that such reports received no attention at home.

I shall send you by this mail two or three copies of the President's Message and abstracts of the Documents prepared by M. Malespine.

Yours very sincerely

[1] Happily none whatever, for she is still living at the age of eighty-four.

A.D. 1787 — Guizot — A.D. 1874

Last Prime Minister of Louis Philippe

BIGELOW TO THE UNITED STATES CONSUL AT NANTES

LEGATION UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 28th, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Have you any evidence that the iron-clad lying at Houat belongs to the Confederates? What is her name, and what was the former name of the *Olinde?*

Send an agent, if you can find one to be relied on, for full information. Our Consul at Bordeaux has advised me of an ironclad, built by Arman for the Danish Government, having been rejected and being on her way back to Bordeaux. Either the *Olinde* or the ram at Houat may be one of these. Write me without delay if you learn anything.

Yours very respectfully

M. MONTAGNIE.

In the month of September, 1863, it will be remembered that I had a mysterious call from a Frenchman personally unknown to me, who confided to me the fact that there were then in process of construction at Bordeaux and Nantes for the Confederate Government several vessels of war, some of them armor-plated and equipped with rams; that the work was conducted under the supervision of Captain Bullock, an officer of the Confederate navy, and with the connivance—in fact, with the official approval—of the Imperial Government; that they were to cost from twelve to fifteen millions of francs, for which Slidell, the commissioner of the Confederate States in Paris, and the Erlangers, their bankers in Paris, had made themselves responsible. My mysterious visitor offered and subsequently produced conclusive evidence of all these statements. Of course they were promptly communicated to the Secretary of State in Washington, and also by me through Mr. Dayton to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. At the same time, as I subsequently learned, the Emperor of

France was pressing the English Government to unite with him in recognizing the independence of the Confederacy.

In consequence of the remonstrances from Washington, but one of these ships succeeded in flying the Confederate flag upon the high seas, and that was the one referred to in the preceding letter as the *Olinde*,[1] which was one of the many aliases by which she came to be known.

These vessels building in France for the Confederates, had they been allowed to escape, would have proved the gravest peril to which the American Union has ever been exposed; and that they would have been allowed to escape had they been finished and equipped one year earlier than they were, no one familiar with the ruling influences at the Tuileries could entertain a reasonable doubt.

As soon as my letters of credence had been presented in January, 1865, I proceeded to verify a report which had reached me, that two of the Arman vessels had been sold to the Peruvian Government. I was assured by M. Barreda, then the Peruvian Minister in Paris, that he had bought the corvettes *Shanghai* and *San Francisco* for the Peruvian navy, and that both had sailed fully armed, under orders of the Peruvian Government.

A few days after this visit it transpired that the remaining corvettes and one of the rams had been bought by Prussia, and the second by Denmark. I was beginning to feel that at last the dangers which threatened us from that quarter of the horizon were conjured; that we need no longer apprehend the destruction of our commerce and the devastation of our seaports by the rams, nor any serious disturbance of our relations with France, which must have followed the appearance of either of them in American waters at any time before the termination of the war. But my respite from anxiety was destined to be of short duration. It was true that the *Shanghai* and *San Francisco* had been bought in good faith by Peru and had been delivered. It was also true that negotiations were pending, which were ultimately consummated, for the sale of one of the rams and some of the corvettes to the Prussian Government, but it was not true that the sale to

[1] For a complete history of this hostile conspiracy of the Imperial Government, the reader is referred to Bigelow's "France and the Confederate Navy: An International Episode," published by Harper & Brothers, 1888.

Denmark had been consummated. Late in the afternoon of Saturday, the 28th of January, our Consul at Nantes notified me that the ram which Arman pretended to have sold to the Danish Government, and which had left Bordeaux for Copenhagen under the name of the *Stoerkodder,* had sailed from that port again under the name of *Olinde,* and was now lying in the bay of Quiberon, on the French coast, where she had discharged her Danish crew of forty-two men on board a vessel sent from the yard of Messrs. Dubigeon fils of St. Nazaire, which vessel had brought to the ship a load of coal; also that a British steamer had been alongside of the *Olinde* with a supply of guns, ammunition, and a crew, which were also put on board.

I immediately communicated these facts to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the following dispatch:

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 28, 1865.

Sir:

I am advised that a vessel sailing under the Danish flag, but recently sold to the so-called Confederate States of America, had put into Palais, Belle-Isle. I have reason to believe that this vessel was built in France, and sailed for a Danish port as a vessel built for the Danish Government. One of the names she bears is *Olinde;* as she is a new vessel, she can have no claim to the shelter of a French port for repairs. If, as I have reason to believe, she is armed and ready for service, it would be a fraud upon the Imperial Government for her to leave before she had been stripped of her warlike munitions. I am also advised of an iron-clad vessel recently built at Bordeaux, arriving under the Danish flag, with a Danish captain and crew on board, at the Isle of Houat. She has discharged her Danish crew, who were taken to Quiberon in a vessel sent to supply her with coals by Messrs. Dubigeon fils of St. Nazaire.

While taking in her coals an English steamer came alongside and supplied her with guns, munitions of war and a crew.

Your Excellency, I trust, will not think I am too hasty in concluding that this vessel also is designed to prey upon American commerce under the flag of the so-called Confederate Government.

I hasten to bring these facts to your Excellency's attention in the hopes that measures may be immediately taken to prevent a violation of that neutrality which the Imperial Government has shown itself so justly solicitous to maintain.

I take this occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your Excellency's very obedient servant

On the following day, although it was the Sabbath, I betook myself at an early hour to the Ministry of Marine. M. Chasseloup-Laubat professed ignorance, but said that he would telegraph at once for information, adding that Arman had deceived him twice and might try to do it again; if so, they could not help it, as the point where these vessels lay was not under any guns of the Government. I replied that the transfer had occurred in French waters, that the vessel had been coaled clandestinely from a French steamer, and that intelligence of these facts had reached me indirectly through a French government officer. He repeated that the waters in which this vessel was lying were not under government surveillance; then, as if beginning to realize the weakness of that position, he took the ground that the vessel had been sold to the Danish Government, which had thereby become responsible for the use that should be made of it. I asked if he had any evidence that the Danish Government had accepted the vessel before she left France. He replied that, as it was a vessel of war, it could not have received his authorization to leave without first exhibiting a contract for its purchase by some neutral government; that it did produce one from the Danish Government, and if that Government did not intend to keep the ship, it should, by a proper notification, have placed it once more under French jurisdiction; till then, Denmark and not France was responsible for the vessel.

This brief but animated discussion had greatly simplified the issue between us. The question left to be settled was whether the Danish Government had or had not made itself responsible for the future career of the steamer. I betook myself immediately to the Danish Legation, but as Count Molkte, the Danish Minister in Paris, chanced to be absent, I called the following day, January 31, 1865, when I learned from him that there had been negotiations pending between his Government and Arman; but the Danish inspector had informed Arman before the vessel left Bordeaux that she would not be accepted, as she had not been delivered according to the conditions of the contract. Count Molkte said, further, that Arman sent her to Copenhagen in spite of this notice, with a French crew in charge of a M. Arnous de la Rivière; that on her arrival the crew was sent home, and after lying there some three months, the Danish Government persisting in its refusal to accept her, Arnous hired a Danish captain and crew to bring the ship to Bordeaux. Count Molkte also informed me that Arnous had been to see him the day before in company with the Danish pilot and captain, and he gave as his reason for stopping in the bay of Quiberon that his engineers were unskilful, his sailors mutinous, and his oil had given out. This last embarrassment struck the count as quite a novelty in the category of maritime disasters, and helped to confirm his suspicions in regard to the whole transaction. The count said there could be no mistake about the main fact so important in determining where the responsibility must rest for the escape of the *Stoerkodder*—the name under which the *Olinde* had sailed from Bordeaux—that she never for one moment passed out of the control of Arman and his agents, and therefore was never for one moment under the control of the Danish Government. In speaking of the alleged defective construction of the *Stoerkodder,* Arnous admitted to Count Molkte her predatory destination in the remark "that she was a terrible vessel, and was going to make terrible havoc among the blockading squadrons of the Federals."

Whether in her make-up and speed the *Stoerkodder* did or did not conform to the terms of the contract of Arman with the Danish Government, there was one reason more decisive than all others for its availing itself of any pretext for not

accepting the steamer. His contract with Denmark bound Arman to deliver the vessel, at that time known as the *Sphinx*, by the 14th of June, 1864, under a penalty of 1000 francs for every day's delay. The time of her delivery was of vital importance to Denmark, then engaged in a supreme but very unequal struggle with the combined forces of Prussia and Austria for the retention of the duchies of Schleswig and of Holstein. Having but a small land force, she relied mainly upon her fleet, which was not to be despised. The acquisition of a ram like the *Stonewall*[1] at that moment would have proved to her of incalculable importance. Arman, however, could not, or at least did not, tender the vessel until October, and after the Schleswig-Holstein question was settled and Denmark had submitted to the terms which her enemies dictated.

Of course the *Stonewall* had by this time become an article of luxury which Denmark had neither disposition nor means to indulge herself with, and she did not hesitate to take advantage of Arman's neglect to comply with the terms of his contract.

In order to put upon the files of the French Foreign Office an official record of what I regarded as established facts in regard to the escape of the *Stoerkodder, alias* the *Olinde, alias* the *Stonewall,* from the waters of France and her return to them, I addressed a communication to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 2d of February, reciting the false pretences under which she obtained leave to sail for Copenhagen, and a history of her subsequent career until she received a Confederate crew, armament and coals in the bay of Quiberon; I concluded my statement with the following assignment of reasons for sending it:

"I take leave to bring these statements, which all come from authentic sources, thus promptly to the notice of your Excellency in the hope that you will be pleased to inform me if they differ in any important particulars, and if so in what, from the reports which have reached the Imperial Government, that my own government may be assisted by an undisputed record of facts, in determining precisely where the responsibility should rest for the depredations which are to be apprehended from the irregular and presumptively pi-

[1] This was the significant name for which that of *Stoerkodder* had been exchanged after she left Copenhagen.

ratical manner in which the *Olinde* quitted the waters of France.

"While I sincerely hope these apprehensions may prove to have been groundless, I do not feel sufficient doubt of the final destination of the *Olinde* to justify me in neglecting any precaution which it would be proper for me to take if my apprehensions were convictions."

My remonstrances seemed to have been not without effect upon the Imperial Government, for only two days after this letter was received at the Foreign Office, I received a telegram from Mr. Perry, our Chargé at Madrid, informing me that the *Olinde,* which had practically avowed her piratical genealogy and destination by taking the name of *Stonewall,* had arrived at Ferrol in Spain, and had gone into the dock for repairs. I immediately waited upon M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and suggested to him the propriety of instructing his Ambassador at Madrid to detain the *Stonewall,* at least until the inquest was completed which the Minister of the Marine was making.

From the Minister of Foreign Affairs, partly at the suggestion of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I went to the Minister of the Marine. He informed me that the report was ready and that he was just then about sending it to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. When I had seen it placed in the hands of a messenger—for I let him see that I was waiting till it should go—I returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the intention of reinforcing my suggestion made at the previous interview. I was told the Minister had gone out to drive, which was highly probable, for I am sure he did not wish to see me again, while he must have been morally certain that I would soon be back. Returned to my legation, I addressed him a note urging the expediency and importance of instructing his Ambassador at Madrid at once to request the Spanish Government to detain the *Stonewall* until the inquiry which the Minister of Justice had been or was to be instructed to institute into the circumstances attending the *Stonewall's* equipment and departure from France had been completed. I also suggested to him, as a precedent by which to prove to the Spanish Government that the Imperial Government would be asking no more than it was willing to concede, the case of the *Rappahannock,* a Confederate vessel then lying at Calais, by virtue of a procedure precisely similar in all important particulars to that which I proposed to have instituted against the *Stonewall.* "If your

Excellency," I concluded, "should estimate the importance of preventing this steamer from leaving the west coast of Europe under the flag of the so-called Confederate Government as highly as I do, you will pardon the earnestness with which I press a course of proceeding which promises a speedy, natural and satisfactory solution of what threatens to become a very troublesome case." Three days after this communication was sent to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I received from him the following reply:

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, February 7, 1865.

Sir:

Upon the receipt of the letters which you did me the honor to write me the 28th of January last and the 2d of this month, I hastened to call the attention of his Excellency M. the Minister of the Marine to the facts which you mention, begging him to be pleased to communicate to me all the information which he could possibly collect concerning the appearance and sojourn upon the coast of France of a vessel of war sailing under the Danish flag, and which your information indicates as destined to cruise on behalf of the Confederate States. I have just received from the Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat the information which permits me to answer the questions which you have addressed to me. The *Olinde* (this is the name which the vessel bore which appeared upon our coast) being in your opinion—as, indeed, certain indications also authorize us in supposing—the same vessel which under the name of *Sphinx* last year went out from the shipyard of M. Arman, a French ship-builder, I think it my duty here first to recall the circumstances under which the *Sphinx* was authorized to leave the port of Bordeaux. When it was a question of her delivery to her purchaser, the Government of the Emperor took care to assure itself that the sale of this vessel was not a cloak to any operation contrary to the neutrality which it observed, and which it has constantly watched pursuant to the

provisions of law, in order that no violation should occur from its own subjects. It proceeded, therefore, to the strictest investigation, and it was only when M. Arman had established, by the most unexceptionable proof—that is to say, by the production of his bill of sale—that the *Sphinx* was really sold to a European non-belligerent power, that its exit from the port of Bordeaux was authorized.

The 1st of October, the testimony of M. the Minister of Denmark at Paris, supported by that of our Minister at Copenhagen, fully confirmed the declaration of M. Arman, and the authenticity of the title which he had produced. There could then be no doubt as to the real destination of the vessel, which in effect, on quitting France, was sent to Denmark.

Here, according to what you write me, sir, arose a new order of facts, a consequence of which was the transfer into other hands of the ownership of the vessel in question. Upon this point the Government of the Emperor does not possess any other information than that which you have been pleased to transmit to me, and the absence of M. Arman at Berlin at this moment has not permitted us to ask any from him. One cannot be astonished, however, at the ignorance in which the French administration finds itself concerning what passed during the stay of the *Sphinx* in Denmark, since this vessel had then ceased to be a French vessel. We have neither any reason nor any right to make an inquiry into the matter. It would, indeed, have been, on the part of the Government of the Emperor, passing the limits of what comports with the most scrupulous neutrality to pretend to exercise a control over the ulterior destination of a vessel having become the property of a neutral power and definitively escaped from its jurisdiction.

As to the arrival of the *Olinde* in French waters, the report which M. the Minister of the Marine has addressed to me, and of which I have the honor to send you herewith a copy, establishes, as you will see, sir, that she presented herself there under the Danish flag, manned by a Danish crew—that is to say, with every quality which constituted for her a Danish nationality.

Her arrival upon our coast had nothing unusual in it nor anything which would call particular attention to her if she was joined there by an English vessel; that was but a very

ordinary fact, not being, either, of a nature to arouse any special attention.

There is, therefore, no occasion for being surprised that the stay of this vessel should have passed unnoticed, particularly if one considers the insufficiency of the means of surveillance in open roadsteads, such as those where she anchored. Upon all these points the accompanying letter of M. le Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat will furnish you the most conclusive information.

In announcing to me, sir, by your letter of the 5th of this month, that the vessel which you consider as at present belonging to the Confederates had, under the name of *Stonewall,* entered the port of Ferrol, you expressed the wish that the Government of the Emperor would intercede with that of her Catholic Majesty, with the view of procuring her detention. I would be happy to be able to respond to the desire which you have done me the honor to express to me, but it is not possible for me to understand by what right I would be permitted to do so. I need not say that the police of her ports appertains to the Spanish Government alone; and in this case no particular circumstance would authorize the intervention of the Government of his Majesty. As results from the facts which I have just recalled, the regular sale which has been made of the vessel in question, to a neutral power, took from her her character as a French vessel, and we had no longer any right to ask then that under this title in a port of Spain she be subjected to special measures of surveillance or of coercion. You will understand, sir, that to act thus without any right of our own, and in an interest that is foreign to us, would be to depart by an unjustifiable step from the attitude of strict abstention which we ought to preserve in the war, and to infringe, to the detriment of one of the parties and to the profit of the other, the neutrality which we desire to observe toward both. The Danish Government might, perhaps, if it judged proper, take the initiative in this matter, which to us is in any case interdicted. The Government of the Emperor would certainly regret, sir, as deeply as any one, that the *Stonewall* should ultimately receive the destination of which you were apprehensive, and the injury which might result thereby to the commerce of the United States. But, unfortunately, it does not depend upon it to place an obstacle to this. It is only con-

scious of having taken the greatest possible care not to depart from the rules which it has laid down for itself, and which evince, at the same time, its kindly feelings toward the United States, and its wish to relieve itself from all responsibility. In this case, as in all circumstances, it has strictly conformed to the principles of neutrality which have not ceased to govern and to inspire all its actions.

I will finish, sir, by a last observation upon the subject of the analogy which the situation of the *Stonewall* in the port of Ferrol seems to you to offer to that of the *Rappahannock* in the port of Calais. Even were the situations of these two ships the same, the Government of the Emperor would not be held to account for it, as far as it is concerned, since the *Stonewall* is in a Spanish port, where we have no jurisdiction.

But, in my opinion, the circumstances under which the two vessels presented themselves—the one at Calais, the other at Ferrol—are entirely different. You will in effect remember, sir, that the *Rappahannock* was, as supposed, a vessel of commerce having left a port of England, and which, having taken refuge in a French port, attempted to transform herself there into a vessel of war. Faithful to its principles, the Government of the Emperor did not permit this transformation to take place in its waters, and opposed the going out of the ship. The vessel whose presence at Ferrol you mention seems to have presented herself there under circumstances entirely different, which it seems to me do not allow of any assimilation to the precedent which you recall.

Receive, sir, the assurance of the very distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be,

Your very humble and very obedient servant

THE MINISTER OF THE MARINE TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Translation

PARIS, February 5, 1865.

Dear Mr. Minister and Colleague:

You did me the honor to transmit to me the copy of a letter which M. the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States had written to you, and

in which he mentioned the arrival at Belle-Isle and off the island of Houat of two vessels recently constructed in France, sailing at present under the Danish flag, but which, according to him, are destined to cruise on behalf of the Confederate States.

Mr. Bigelow thinks that the ram vessel is the *Sphinx*, constructed by M. Arman of Bordeaux. Your Excellency remembers that this vessel, as also the other ships of war which left the yards of this ship-builder, were stopped by my orders until M. Arman should have proved to the Department of Foreign Affairs their regular sale to a neutral power.

The 3d of October last, your Excellency having made known to me that the proof had been produced by M. Arman, and that the *Sphinx* had been really sold to the Danish Government, which had just concluded the preliminaries of peace, there was no longer any motive for detaining the vessel. She left then for Helsingfors, and she does not appear to have carried any other but the Danish flag.

According to what Mr. Bigelow tells me (but what no official document has made known to me), it would appear, in consequence of difficulties raised between the Danish Government and M. Arman, this vessel was refused, and the latter, remaining the owner, had arranged with the agents of the Confederate States to deliver her to them.

However this may be, it is certain that the vessel which appeared in the waters of Belle-Isle was of a construction similar to that of the *Sphinx;* she carried the Danish flag and had a Danish crew when she anchored in the roadstead of Calais. She afterwards went to the island of Houat. A side-wheel steamer under the English flag joined her there, it appeared, and the bad weather might naturally cause the belief that this vessel had also put into port. At length the French steamer, the *Expéditif*, brought coal to these vessels. These incidents could not but appear very natural; similar cases constantly occur, and it is not customary to make inquiries into what a foreign vessel of war comes into port to do, particularly in bad weather, upon a friendly coast.

I think it my duty to direct your Excellency's attention to the fact, also, that we have not the means of exercising an effective surveillance over vessels which anchor in our open roadsteads. Upon the other hand, I would add that, on account of prevailing bad weather, communications have been infrequent with the island of Houat, situated opposite the bay of Quiberon, near which the vessels were anchored; and, finally, that there exists upon this little island neither telegraphic bureau nor semaphore.

However, I have asked the maritime authorities of Belle-Isle, and at the different points of the coast which are contiguous to the waters of Houat Island, for information upon the movements of the vessels mentioned by M. the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States.

As far as the supposition of Mr. Bigelow is concerned, that the ram vessel was destined to cruise under the flag of the Confederate States, it would be for Denmark to respond to him, since her crew was Danish, she carried the Danish flag, and, as you have remarked, she had been regularly sold to the Danish Government.

The facts in question could not then, in any case, concern us, and I believe it unnecessary to recall the fact that, under all circumstances, the Government of the Emperor has always made it a duty to observe and to cause to be observed the most strict and loyal neutrality between the two parties who at present divide the United States of America.

It required all my self-control not to betray the disgust with which the obvious bad faith of these letters inspired me, but it was not until many years after the events I am describing that I realized the extent of it.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 30, 1865.

Sir:

I learned on Saturday, the 28th instant, about 1 P.M., through our consul at Nantes, that a despatch had come to the Danish consul at Nantes from the French *commissaire de l'inscription maritime,* at Palais, Belle-Isle, informing him that a "Danish vessel called the *Olinde,* which had been sold to the Confederates, had discharged her crew of fifty men at Quiberon, and that they were on their way to the care of the Danish consul at Nantes." The same letter advised me that a steam-ram, built at Bordeaux, on the model of the *Castelfidardo,* with a Danish crew, and under the command of a Danish captain, was lying at the island of Houat, where she had discharged her crew of forty-two men on board a vessel sent from the yard of Messrs. Dubigeon Fils of St. Nazaire, with coals for her; and while taking on board some thirty tons, which was all the weather

admitted of transshipment, a British steamer came alongside with a supply of guns, ammunition and a crew, which were also put on board. I immediately addressed a note, of which a copy is annexed, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The following despatch from Palais, Belle-Isle, received at Nantes on the night of the 27th, reached me this morning:

"According to report to-day from Quiberon, the crew of a Danish steamer have been paid off. There are close to Houat Island two steamers, unknown; one, it is said, is a ram, which passed four days ago before Palais without any flag up."

I also learned yesterday from our consul at Nantes that the ram sailed on the morning of the 28th at nine o'clock, steering southwest. These facts taken in connexion with information derived from a letter from our consul at Bordeaux, which I found on the files of the legation, an extract of which is annexed, led me to the conclusion that at least one of the vessels referred to by our consul at Nantes was built by Arman and sold to the Danish government, but not accepted, and was subsequently transferred to the Confederates.

To-day I called upon Monsieur Chasseloup-Laubat, the Minister of the Marine, to learn what action he had taken or proposed to take upon the subject. He read me two despatches, speaking only of the arrival of a ram, apparently a foreign vessel, in the waters near Quiberon; but he had as yet received no written information upon the subject. I revealed to him my suspicions that these vessels, or this vessel if there is but one, had gone into the Confederate service, and stated some of the facts upon which my suspicions were founded. He said he would telegraph at once for information; that Arman had deceived him twice, and might try to do it again; if so they could not help it, as the point where these vessels lay was not under the eye or guns of the government. I replied that the transfer occurred in French waters, that the vessel was coaled clandestinely from a French steamer, and that intelligence of these facts reached me indirectly through a French government officer. He repeated that the waters in which these vessels are reported to have lain are not under surveillance; and besides, these vessels had been sold to the Danish government, which became thereby responsible for the use which should be made of them. I replied that, according to the report, the Danish government had refused to accept them, as not answer-

ing to the contract. He replied that he had received no official notice of their refusal to accept the vessels; that, as they were vessels of war, they could not have received his authorization to leave without first showing a contract for their purchase from some neutral government; that they did produce one from the Danish government, and if they did not intend to keep them it was its duty to notify this government and to place the ship once more under French jurisdiction; till then, Denmark, and not France, was responsible for the vessels.

As it was in the ministry of foreign affairs, and not in the department of the marine, that questions of international responsibility are to be discussed, I hastened away in the hope of finding the Danish minister before his legation was closed. I was unfortunately too late; but I saw Mr. Haxlhaussen, the first secretary of the legation, who acknowledged the receipt of a despatch from their consul at Nantes, confirming the report that a vessel built by Arman and sold to his government, on arriving at Copenhagen, had failed to answer the terms of the contract; that Arman preferred to take her back, rather than modify his terms; that she had put into Quiberon and discharged her crew; beyond this he professed to have no information. He insisted, however, that his government had never accepted the *Stoerkodder;* he gave her the name borne by the iron-clad to which our consul at Bordeaux referred in his letter, and therefore his government could not be responsible, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 31, 1865.

Sir:

Mr. Molkte, the Danish minister, whom I have just left, confirms substantially everything stated in my despatch No. 13 in regard to the *Stoerkodder,* except that from what he says I am inclined to believe that our consul's despatches from Nantes all relate to one and the same vessel of war. Mr. Molkte says that the *Stoerkodder* was sent to Copenhagen with a French crew, in charge of M. Arnous de la Rivière, one of

Arman's agents, whose name is already familiar to you in connexion with past negotiations between Arman and the Confederates; that on her arrival at Copenhagen the crew were sent home; that after lying there some three months, she was finally rejected, as the Danish inspector at Bordeaux had previously told Arman she would be, he having refused to report in her favor before his departure; that upon receiving his final answer, Arnous hired a Danish captain and crew to bring her to Bordeaux; that Arnous, who called to see him yesterday, with the Danish pilot and captain, represented as his reason for stopping at Houat, that his engineers were unskilful, his sailors mutinous, and that, like the improvident virgins, their oil had given out. This last struck Mr. Molkte as quite a novelty in the category of maritime disasters, and contributed to inspire suspicion in regard to the whole transaction.

Mr. Molkte said there could be no mistake about the main fact, so important in determining where the responsibility must rest for the escape of the *Stoerkodder,* that she never for one moment passed out of the control of Arman or his agents, and of course was never for one moment in the possession of the Danish government. If this be so, the question of responsibility will not be difficult to solve.

I have written to our minister at Copenhagen to procure, with as little delay as possible, all the information within his reach, pertinent to the issue, and to communicate directly both to the State Department and to this legation.

In speaking of the defective construction of the *Stoerkodder,* about which there seems little difference of opinion, Mr. Molkte remarked that Arnous insisted that she was a terrible vessel, and she was going to make terrible havoc among the blockading squadrons of the Federals.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Paris, January 31, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I enclose some letters of introduction for M. Ferdinand de Lasteyrie. one of the grandsons of Lafayette, who is instructed

to call for them at the State Department, and if he does call I trust you will allow this note to serve him as a letter of introduction to you. M. de Lasteyrie visits the United States to look after some property belonging to his wife, a South Carolinian, compromised (the property I mean) by the late war. He may need some friends, therefore, in Washington. Hence this note to you.

M. de L., besides the great inheritance which he derives from his grandfather, has many other titles to consideration. He is a writer of reputation and has been a not uninfluential member of the Corps Législatif in the time of Louis Philippe. His friends here are our friends. I trust therefore that his reception at Washington may be satisfactory to him.

Yours very sincerely

PRESENTATIONS OF AMERICANS AT THE IMPERIAL COURT

The night before my commission as Chargé d'Affaires reached me, a ball was given at the Tuileries, the first, I believe, of the season. Mr. Pennington, the First Secretary and then head of the legation, had already sent in to the chamberlain the names of a dozen or more Americans who desired invitations. No invitations came, however. This apparent disrespect to Pennington he attributed to the lateness of the hour at which his application was received. I should be glad to believe this explanation was the correct one. I was not quite satisfied with it; neither were any of the ladies and gentlemen who had been sitting up in grand toilet at home all the evening, waiting for their cards of invitation, and who all rushed to me to have their names put on my list for the next court ball, due about a fortnight later.

This unpleasant incident introduced me rather awkwardly to one of the least agreeable and least satisfactory duties which were in those days imposed upon an American Minister in Paris. The American colony in the French metropolis has usually been much larger than in any other European capital. It consisted largely of people in quest of pleasure or of social preferment. Of these but a small proportion felt much of the

delicacy in applying for an invitation to court which they would feel in applying for an invitation to an entertainment given in their own country by persons they had never visited; and they were apt to overlook the reciprocal obligations and privileges of host and guest, when they asked for or accepted such invitations. They regarded a court festival, not as an act of personal hospitality, but rather as a public spectacle to which it was one of the imperative duties of their Minister to procure them access. Whether their acquaintance or presence would confer any pleasure upon their hosts, or prove any indemnification whatever for the not inconsiderable expense and trouble which their presence necessarily occasioned, were questions which were not apt to disturb them.

My position was still further complicated. I was as yet only a Chargé d'Affaires and as such accredited only to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and not, like an ambassador, to the head of the state. Nor had I yet been presented to their Majesties in my official capacity. How, then, was I to present my country people to them? I remembered also that my predecessor, Mr. Dayton, had once received a suggestion from the court in regard to indiscriminate presentations by the American Legation, which naturally annoyed him very much, and which he indiscreetly made the subject of an official communication to Mr. Seward. He showed me Mr. Seward's reply, and did not disguise his discontent with the covert rebuke he thought it contained to himself for troubling the department with such a matter. As this was not the first time the subject of presentations by the Minister of the United States to the court of France had been the theme of a disagreeable diplomatic wrangle, I will here insert the correspondence of Mr. Dayton with the United States Department of State and with the French Foreign Office.

DAYTON TO SEWARD

PARIS, January 14, 1862.

Sir:

I write to you in reference to a small matter outside of the business of the Legation, but which it seems to me not improper to communi-

cate; the more especially as our citizens abroad attach to such things an importance much beyond what they seem to me to merit.

In this mission I have fallen heir, as you doubtless know, to an inheritance of social trouble and vexation, not growing out of my business duties, but out of such as are connected with presentations to the Court and such little matters. The great numbers of our countrymen who visit Paris, the facilities which have been given by my predecessors for an introduction at the Palace, and the great liberality of the Court itself, in admitting such introductions, have brought about a state of things under which I suppose the officers of ceremony at the Palace have, not unnaturally, become restive. For instance, in looking back for a few years past, I find that in 1857, at one presentation only, eighty-four Americans were introduced! At the two presentations in 1858 there were introduced, forty-seven at the one and fifty-seven at the other. At the two presentations in 1859, sixty-eight at the one, and fifty-one at the other. At the three presentations in 1860, at the one, thirty-four, and at the other two, seventy-three. In 1861 the list is so marked that it is difficult to say the precise number, but one of my predecessor's dispatches says that at one presentation he introduced thirty-five, and at the other "a large number," how many I know not. These presentations, you are aware, are on the night of the Court ball, and all who are presented are, of course, invited to the ball. In addition, there is an average of perhaps fifty other Americans, resident in Paris, who have been presented in past years; some or perhaps most of whom expect invitations. As the rules of Court limit the introduction of the subjects of other European countries to a small and privileged class, the result is that, on these occasions, the citizens of the United States outnumber not only the subjects of any other country except France, but probably outnumber the citizens or subjects of all foreign countries of the world together. There is a limit, if not to Royal hospitality, at least to *space* in a Ball and Supper Room, though they be in a Palace; a fact which our countrymen have not always remembered. In addition to these matters, at one of the presentations last year, an unpleasant difficulty occurred with a young American, and there was besides another violation of the etiquette of the Court, to which it is needless more particularly to refer. From these or other causes, at the last presentation of last year (being the one next after the above incident) Mr. Faulkner, after he had sent in his list, was called upon to *add to their names "their quality."* In a letter from the Secretary of Legation dated Feb. 1st, 1861, he declined to do this. He said that his list was in conformity with past practice and to which no exception had been before taken; that he could not add "the quality," because an American abroad could legally have no quality except that of a citizen of the Republic; but that, if the number ordinarily submitted for presentation was

larger than was agreeable, a suggestion to that effect would in future be remembered. On the next day (Feb. 2nd) Le Baron de Conches writes in answer, that that which had been asked for was universally practised and that it ought in fact to be so, to the end that they might know who it was who was presented to the Sovereign. The result was that, the list not being amended, *the tickets were not sent*, and no Americans were presented.

Such was the condition of things when I came here. The first general presentation day and Court ball of this season came off at the Tuileries on the 8th inst. On the 2nd inst. I had sent in (outside of the Legation) a list of thirty Americans for presentation. Two of these parties only had an official designation (one a late Foreign Minister and the other a United States Consul, with their families respectively). On the evening of the 6th inst. I received from M. Thouvenel a letter, in which he acknowledges the reception of my list, but says: "You have joined to the names of two of these persons the enunciation of their quality (*de leur qualité*); for the others this necessary information has been omitted. I pray you have the goodness to enable me to place under the eyes of their Majesties the complete list, adding the information it ought to contain, to wit: *the social position and the profession* (*la position sociale et la profession*) of the individuals to be presented." The next morning I examined what had been the past practice of the Legation, and found the correspondence before referred to, in the time of my predecessor. I immediately addressed to M. Thouvenel a note of which the following is a copy:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, January 7, 1862.

Monsieur le Ministre:

The letter which you did me the honor to write in reference to the list of persons proposed to be presented by me to their Imperial Majesties was received last night, and I hasten to reply to it. The list already prepared at this Legation was in conformity with what had been the established usage of my predecessors, and to which no exception had been taken so far as the records of the Legation show, until the last list presented by my immediate predecessor, Mr. Faulkner. Where an *official* of the American Government has been named for presentation heretofore, I find it has been usual so to designate him, and I have so done it in this case; but of the great number of private gentlemen and ladies who have been honored by a presentation to their Majesties, in no instance do I find that "their quality," "social position and profession" have been set forth. The reasons of this must

be obvious to your Excellency. In the social and political organization of society in the United States, no title of honor or nobility exists. Every citizen of good character may be presented to His Excellency the President on proper occasions. The French Minister at Washington presents in like manner to His Excellency any or as many of his countrymen as he may choose to present without question as to "their quality, social position or profession." But if disposed to comply with the request of Your Excellency, I know of no mode by which it could be done. In the absence of any recognized rule, I cannot, if I would, designate "the quality" or draw nice distinctions as to the "social position" of those who may apply for presentation. I can only say they are *gentlemen and ladies*—I need not add, I am sure, of unexceptionable character. Some have been presented at other European Courts; some are the wives or children of those who have been presented at this Court; while others, a majority perhaps, are, as I am informed, private gentlemen of fortune without, I believe, profession or occupation. In view of all the circumstances and of the great number which have heretofore been presented by my predecessors, I have felt it my duty to say thus much in reference to the application of Your Excellency for an amended list. But the privilege of a presentation is a courtesy extended by their Majesties, *not a right* claimed in behalf of American citizens.

If therefore Your Excellency will prescribe some fixed rule, susceptible of application, it will be a relief to the Legation, and I can assure you it will give me pleasure to comply with it.

Accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,

WM. L. DAYTON.

S. Exc. M. THOUVENEL,
Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

To this letter I have received no answer, and the parties on the list, except the officials, no cards. In the evening of the next day (being the day of presentation) I had the honor to receive five cards, for the use of the two official gentlemen with their families. They were received, however, too late to enable them to avail themselves of the honor intended, and the cards were returned by me the following morning with a respectful note stating that fact. I have reason *to know* that the delay in sending these cards was a mistake and regretted. But, as respects the others, who hold or have held no *official*

rank or position, the matter stands where the correspondence has placed it.

This Court has, in time past, been most liberal in the extension of this courtesy to our citizens, and it has certainly been used *without stint.* Should it be limited now to officials of our Government only, whether State or National, it would exclude, as you well know, the most of that class of citizens who, according to European ideas, are best entitled to "Presentation." But, unless some explanation is volunteered or further suggestion made as to the wishes of the Court, I know not how, with a proper self-respect, I can do more or say more than I have already done and said. I am quite open, however, to any suggestion from yourself, if you think the matter worthy a suggestion.

With much respect,

Your very obedient servant

REPLY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MR. DAYTON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1862.

Sir:

Your despatch of January 14 has been received. It is accompanied by a copy of a note which you have addressed to M. Thouvenel on the subject of the introduction of American citizens at the Imperial Court. I very freely confess to the opinions—First, that an audience or presentation of any but diplomatic persons at Court is to be regarded not in any degree as a right of the person received, but as a courtesy extended to him. Secondly, that the Imperial Court is perfectly at liberty to define and prescribe the qualifications, conditions, and terms on which strangers shall be admitted into its society. Thirdly, if American citizens request you to present their wishes for admission at Court, you can only present them by complying with the terms and conditions prescribed. Fourthly, referring to the questions which have actually arisen, I think that you can properly, in all cases, give the occupation or profession of any person you present. You cannot, indeed, undertake to assign the social position of each person; for that would be to discriminate, or to seem to discriminate, by European rules, between persons who, being all alike citizens, may justly claim to be equals in social position at home, and, therefore, equals in the consideration of this Government itself when they are abroad. It seems to me, however, that in many cases there are circumstances belonging

to the persons you propose to present which may be properly stated, such as official position held by individuals at the time, or even at some previous time; distinctions arising from personal merit, such as scientific, military, or literary, or of a political character, and distinctions as founders of scientific, literary or humane institutions. But even when these suggestions are made in compliance with the rule of the Court, it is not to be claimed as a matter of right, or even as a matter of national comity, that the presentations of audiences shall therefore be granted. I have dwelt upon the subject longer than was due to any importance that it can claim. It is peculiarly uncomfortable at the present moment to find American citizens leaving their country—a prey to faction and civil war—disturbing the Court of a friendly Power, and embarrassing our representative there with questions of personal interest and pretension. Let the Emperor and Empress of France receive whom they will, and as many or few as they will, and let all others, as well as those who are admitted, turn their attention to the question how they can serve their country abroad; and if they find no better way to do it than by making their attendance in the saloons of the Tuileries, let them return home to a country that now, for the first time, and not for a long time, needs the active efforts of every one of its loyal children to save itself from destruction. Finally, above all things, have no question with the Government of France on this subject. Rather introduce nobody, however justly distinguished, than let a question of fashion or ceremony appear in the records of the important period in which we are acting for the highest interests of our country and of humanity.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

The Secretary's letter puts the case sensibly enough if not tenderly enough. Mr. Dayton made a mistake in referring to Mr. Seward for instructions in a matter about which he should have been better informed than Mr. Seward, and with whom he had no excuse for trying to divide his responsibility. Besides, Mr. Seward perhaps did not care to be told by one of his ministers, who is, *ex officio,* always under instructions, that he was "open to any suggestion."

It was unpleasant, of course, to Mr. Dayton to receive an intimation that the American Legation had abused the hospitality of the court, but the fact was indisputable. In one instance—I think it was while Mr. Sanford was temporarily

Chargé in Paris—application was made for one hundred and fifty invitations to a ball at the Hôtel de Ville. Had each of the other thirty or forty legations in Paris been equally exacting, there was no place in that metropolis large enough to accommodate the foreign guests alone. When Mr. Dayton arrived, therefore, and before he should commit himself to the social traditions of his predecessors, it is not surprising that he was asked to bring his list of applications within reasonable limits, and to select for presentation such only as in their own country would be thought entitled to such a civility, both from the legation and from the court.

With Mr. Dayton's experience in my mind, and determined to know exactly where the court stood on this subject, about which the neglect of Pennington's application made me a little uncertain, independently of the logomachy waging between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of the Marine and myself at the time, I profited by an early opportunity to discuss the subject with M. Drouyn de Lhuys. The result was a request to send in my list to him. As to making the presentation by myself, the question being quite *imprévue,* he would inform himself and let me know. The next time I saw him, he said that he had as yet received no answer, but was expecting one, which, when received, he would promptly communicate to me, adding, with a smile, that he had recommended such an answer as would be satisfactory to me; in other words, as I understood him, that it should be arranged so that I should be first presented to their Majesties, and then make the other presentations myself. As I was leaving the palace, I was interrupted by a young gentleman attached to the bureau of Feuillet de Conches, one of the chamberlains, who said that it would greatly oblige him if I would put the rank or quality of any persons I proposed to present, opposite their respective names; and, to relieve me of any embarrassment in the premises, it might be understood between us that those whose names were not accompanied by some such qualification might receive no invitation, as not falling within the category of "distinguished persons" entitled to presentation. I told the young man I would as far as practicable conform to his suggestion. I was becoming less and less satisfied with the friction I encountered, and I determined to call upon Feuillet de Conches himself as the man most likely to clear up what had seemed to

me at first a trivial matter, but which was hourly assuming additional importance. It occurred to me as not a little singular that a Minister who had four different times held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs should speak of presentations at court by a *chargé d'affaires* as *une question imprévue*. It seemed yet stranger that he should have to apologize for an unexpected delay on the part of the court in responding to his recommendation, and, finally, that a subordinate in his office should be put on my track for no other purpose apparently than to warn me not to abuse the hospitality of their Majesties.

I confess I felt, as I rode home, like sending in no list, and recommending my country people who wanted to go to court to wait until they were sent for. Already I began to realize how much of himself a man surrenders who accepts a diplomatic position. I felt humiliated at finding myself under the necessity of submitting to a lesson in good breeding through an understrapper in the Foreign Office, which I could neither reject nor resent, for I knew full well that the provocation for the course they were taking was ample, and the method as considerate toward me as I had any reason to expect. The Emperor had a right to dispense his cakes and ale as he pleased, and if it were otherwise, I could ill afford to make my début in the diplomatic corps as the complainant on such an issue.

On the following Saturday, January 21, I called at the apartment of the Baron Feuillet de Conches. I knew something of him from reading his "Curieux," which I had in my library, and from the criticisms which it had provoked from the press.

Soon after I was announced, an old man entered from the adjoining room, which was his library, wrapped in a dressing-gown, with a cap on his head, and linen and slippers which showed that his personal appearance that morning had occupied little of his thoughts. He reminded me a little, in his appearance, carriage and general make-up, of Dr. Samuel Johnson, as he might have appeared to a morning caller at his rooms in Bolt Court. He apologized for appearing before me in such a toilet, but excused himself on the plea of ill health. He appeared to anticipate the motive of my call, for he soon began to express the hope that I would put some restrictions upon the indiscriminate presentation of my country people at court, and illustrated some of the abuses to which it led by a rather amusing story of an American woman with whom, as

chamberlain, he had had occasion to deal. In the throne-room, where their Majesties are accustomed to sit at the grand balls, and where those only are apt to dance who are invited by some member of the imperial family, or attached to their service, the chamberlains are especially charged to keep the floor clear for the dancers, and to keep the crowd, always considerable, from encroaching upon the dancers' circle. The baron said he found himself elbowed and shouldered pretty roughly by this woman, who seemed determined to get into the circle, already as small as the Empress would permit, and of which he was doing his best to preserve the proportions. He looked around at her, to let her know that he was not insensible to her endearments, but said nothing. Presently he felt the elbow again. Again he looked at her to let her know that it was not through inattention that he maintained his position, but still said nothing. In a few minutes the elbows were at work again upon him. He then turned, begged her pardon for not giving his place to her, but pleaded his duty, and special instructions of the Empress, etc. Whereupon she said in a loud tone: "I am an American; we like war, and I am going in." "Go in then," said the baron, finding that she could not be restrained without a scene, which, as the representative of the hostess, he of course could not make with one of her guests, and in she went, taking her place directly in front of him. "It was afterwards ascertained," said the baron, "that the American who liked war was the wife of a horse-dealer in New York." The incident occurred during Faulkner's mission. It was in consequence of this occurrence, he said, that the court concluded to require some statement of the grounds upon which the honor of a presentation at court is solicited. Mr. Faulkner, he said, objected to this rule on the ground that we had no legalized distinctions of classes in the United States, and that it was imposing a very unpleasant duty upon the Minister, which it would be impossible for him to discharge satisfactorily. The baron said he replied to Mr. Faulkner that Americans, like all other people, had a choice of the people with whom they associated; that they did not receive their domestics in their parlors, and all he required was that the same principle by which they determined what was the good society in America should be applied in the selection of candidates for introduction to good society in France. He took it for granted

that the American Minister, like other gentlemen, exercised his discretion in presenting strangers to his own acquaintance; why then should he be less considerate toward their Majesties? etc. I expressed to the baron my regret that the court had found it necessary to stipulate for what was so perfectly reasonable; and though a Minister from the United States labored under the inconvenience of representing a country in which there was not only no recognized social stratification, but which was territorially so large that it was impossible for the Minister to ascertain the full measure of everybody's claim to their Majesties' civilities, and where letters of introduction were given so inconsiderately as to be of little aid to him in his inquiries, still I thought I could answer for all whom it might be my privilege to present to their Majesties.[1]

Satisfied now that I understood the difficulty with which my two immediate predecessors had been struggling, and its origin, and to change the subject, I made a complimentary allusion to the baron's book, which he rewarded by asking my acceptance of the third volume, which he said had just come from the press. After some talk about the letters of Marie Antoinette published in the first volume, the authenticity of which had been questioned, he explained to me the process of my presentation, and of the presentations that were to follow, and said that everything should be exactly as I wished. We parted on very much better terms with each other than we had met.

I sent in my list, containing a few names in addition to those which had been on Pennington's list. In due season I received the tickets that I had asked, for a ball on the night of the 25th.

I now found myself in the presence of another question which required consideration. In what sort of a costume was I to appear at court? This was not a new question, and circumstances had converted it into an important one. In 1853 Mr. Marcy had issued a circular to our diplomatic representatives in Europe, expressing the wish of our Government that

[1] "At the court of the first Napoleon, General Armstrong was required to certify that the person soliciting the introduction has been introduced at his own Court, or that, according to the best knowledge of the Ambassador, he is not a merchant—a *négociant actuel.*" ("Travels in the South of France," etc., by Lieutenant-Colonel Pinkney of the North American Native Rangers, p. 166.)

its agents abroad "should return to the unostentatious and simple costume of the early period of the Republic, and appear at the courts to which they are accredited in the plain dress of an American citizen, as was formerly the custom abroad, and which has never been departed from at home." This circular was received in Paris when our legation chanced to be in charge of its Secretary, Mr. H. S. Sanford, who, in pursuance of its instructions, presented himself at a court ball in a full evening toilet, and became of course the observed of all observers, and, as he afterwards boasted, attracted corresponding attention from the head of the state. In January, 1854, John Y. Mason of Virginia was appointed to the vacant mission, succeeding Mr. Faulkner, with the following among other results, as set forth in a letter of Sanford to William L. Marcy of New York, then Secretary of State:

I advised you of my first appearance at Court in the dress of an American citizen, on which occasion the Emperor received me with marked attention, which, with the friendly tenor of his conversation, confirmed in my mind the impression made by his Minister, that no objection could or would be made, and that none was felt.

I have since followed this usage on all occasions, whether of a festive or more formal official character, and have had no reason to doubt the propriety or the expediency of this course, but the contrary.

Mr. Mason having informed me that it was his determination, after presenting his letters of credence, to appear at Court in a uniform, renders my further official intercourse with the Court impracticable, unless I return to the regulation which, by your circular, is withdrawn, and (what I may be permitted to say is also of some weight) conveys the apparent disapprobation of the Government to the course which, under the instructions, I have followed.

Unable, therefore, to continue this usual official intercourse, that the public service at this legation may experience no embarrassment, I consider it my duty to retire, and shall await the permission of the President, as before stated, for that purpose. In the meantime I shall continue to devote my services to the duties of my office. I have the honor to be, etc.,

H. S. Sanford.

To this letter Mr. Sanford received the following reply and a prompt acceptance of his resignation, accompanied with an

almost too cheerful permission to retire from his position without awaiting the arrival of a successor:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Feb. 18, 1854.

Sir:

I have received and submitted to the President your letter of the 22d January, tendering your resignation as Secretary of Legation at Paris, and desiring permission to leave your post. He has instructed me to inform you that he has complied with your request, and a successor will soon be appointed to take your place. If there is any consideration that would make it agreeable to you to retire from your situation before your successor is ready to enter upon the duties of it, you have his permission to do so, at any time that may suit your views.

You have presented the circumstances which led to your resignation in a light such as to convey the impression, perhaps unintentionally, that you have cause of complaint against your Government; but you allude to no act on its part to sustain such an inference.

You must have had all necessary assurance that the course you pursued, under the instructions of the 1st June, 1853, met with its approbation; for you had communicated to this Department the particulars of that course, and had not in any way or form received the slightest intimation that it was not deemed here a reasonable and proper compliance with these instructions.

I cannot perceive how any one can fairly infer that the determination of Mr. Mason, acting under the same instructions which you did, and none other, to appear on some occasions in what is called a court dress, or in uniform, "conveys the apparent disapprobation of the Government" of your course. There is nothing in the facts of the case, in my view of them, to justify such an inference. The instructions on the subject have undergone no modification since they were first issued; and to none of our diplomatic agents has the application of them been withdrawn. The views of the Government in that matter are unchanged, and it is not now less solicitous than it has been at any time to see them carried into effect. It is certainly a strange conclusion that this Government conveys a disapprobation of the conduct of any one of its diplomatic agents, because others, acting under a discretionary clause in the same instructions, do not pursue precisely the same course as he has adopted.

Without withdrawing from your successor the discretion which was given to you, and requiring him to make your example the rule of his

conduct, the Department could not have effectually guarded against the occurrence which seems to be offensive to you.

Though I have been constrained by a sense of duty to attempt to remove an erroneous impression embodied in the letter tendering your resignation to the President, I deem it fit and proper at the same time to say that your course of official conduct, particularly in the matter referred to, is approved and commended, and it is a source of regret that any of our ministers representing their country abroad have found themselves so situated that they have felt obliged, by considerations connected with the public interest, to take a somewhat different course. In this respect they have a discretion, and the Department is not disposed to say that it has not been properly exercised. I am, Sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. L. Marcy.

The official costume of the diplomatic as well as the military agents of all other nations is regulated by their governments, and little or no discretion is left on that subject with the agents themselves. This our Government, however, had never done. Nor did Mr. Marcy's circular supply the deficiency. What is "the plain dress of an American citizen"? Is it the buff breeches, blue coat with white facings, and cocked hat "of the early period of the Republic," or the swallowtail coat and white cravat which are considered the evening dress alike of an American or English gentleman and of a French butler?

This problem was very much simplified in my case by peculiar circumstances. My immediate predecessor, Mr. Dayton, following the example of Mr. Mason and Mr. Faulkner, had adopted what it was the usage to style a "uniform," though it was uniform with nothing else that I know of, except that the coat and trousers were trimmed with more or less of gold lace according to the fancy of the wearer—or, more likely, of his tailor—and so far and no further was like the dresses prescribed by their respective governments to the other members of the diplomatic corps.

Had I been ever so fervent an advocate of "the plain dress of an American citizen," I should not have been disposed to

make a public official criticism of my immediate predecessor by any conspicuous change in the official costume which he had adopted. I felt that the painful circumstances under which I succeeded him made it not only unnecessary, but improper, for me at least, to reopen that question.

It will be observed that, while accepting Mr. Sanford's resignation, Mr. Marcy neither rebuked Mr. Mason for provoking that resignation, nor modified the circular which his Minister in Paris had regarded.

Mr. Buchanan, our Minister at the court of St. James while Mason was in Paris, managed to comply with the instructions of the Secretary without exposing himself to be mistaken for a flunky. He wore a black coat with breeches, a cocked hat and sword, substantially the costume worn by professional men at that court.

Shortly after the termination of the Civil War, and when the occupation of Mexico by a French army had somewhat strained the relations between France and the United States, I was called upon one morning at my legation by Governor Morton of Indiana, who was fond of being spoken of by the press as the War Governor, a title which I believe was not wholly undeserved. He brought a letter from Secretary Seward, simply commending him to the usual courtesies due from the legation to distinguished fellow-countrymen—that and nothing more. The Governor wished me to present him to the Emperor that he might have an opportunity to talk with him in private about our relations with France and Mexico, and to say to him some things which it might not be suitable for the official representative of the Government in Paris to say. I was, of course, a little surprised at this request. I again read over his letter of introduction from Mr. Seward, in which I found nothing to warrant any such application, and finally I said to him that I did not well see how I could comply with his wishes without special instructions.

The Governor replied that what he would say would be the substance of conversations between President Johnson and himself, and which, coming from him, might have their weight without in any way officially compromising the Government or myself.

I replied that if I presented him officially to the Emperor, I made my Government just as much responsible for what he might say as if I had said it myself, and that I was not warranted in authorizing any person to say to the Emperor anything which it would not be suitable for the Minister of the United States to say to him.

This reply was a great disappointment to the Governor—a disappointment which he was only partially successful in disguising. To comfort him, however, I said to him that there was to be a grand ball at the palace the following week, and although I had received and disposed of all the tickets for which I had made application, yet I would not hesitate in his case to ask for another for himself and Mrs. Morton, who, I then learned, was with him, and I would then present him with the other guests to their Majesties, when he might improve such opportunity as presented itself to him to say what he pleased to the Emperor. He rather reluctantly assented to this alternative, and I promptly wrote for invitations, which came duly to hand.

Two or three days after this interview, the Governor came in and said it had been told him that he would require a uniform of some sort to be presented at the ball, and that he had to wear a sword and a cocked hat, and then asked me what would they say at home if he were reported to have been at a ball in Paris dressed up in that style, and this in a tone as if what they would say "lambs would not forgive nor worms forget." His question was one which I did not feel myself competent to answer. But I told him how I did when I was first presented to their Majesties as a simple American tourist, and what Americans had been in the habit generally of doing so far as I knew, and that was to go to a tailor whose address I gave him, who would in a few days fit him with a costume which would answer all the purposes of the occasion perfectly well, and which would not involve an expenditure of more than fifty or seventy-five francs. He went off not quite cheerfully, but apparently satisfied with this arrangement. In a day or two I received the following note from the Governor:

O. P. MORTON TO BIGELOW

Saturday evening, Jan. 17th, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have concluded with Mrs. Morton that we will decline the honor of being presented at Court on next Wednesday evening. I am an invalid and did not come to Europe for any such purpose, and there are perhaps other reasons which would render it inappropriate at this time. You are at liberty, therefore, to strike our names from the list, and I write thus early to give you an opportunity of presenting the names of others who would be glad to go.

With many thanks for your kindness in this and other matters, I am

Very truly yours

At the ball Mrs. Morton appeared, but no Governor Morton. She was presented to their Majesties by my wife, but having no other acquaintances in a crowd of nearly two thousand people, I am apprehensive that she had a dull time.

In 1866 or thereabouts, the Governor was elected to the United States Senate from Indiana, and in 1867–68 was more or less directly the author and promoter of a bill which provided that:

> Officers of the several grades in the diplomatic service of the United States are hereby instructed to conform to the requirements of law prohibiting them from wearing any uniform or official costume not previously authorized by Congress. (R. S., sec. 1688.)

The statute also authorized:

> All officers who have served during the Rebellion as volunteers in the Army of the United States and have been honorably mustered out of the volunteer service to bear the official title, and, upon occasions of ceremony, to wear the uniform of the highest grade they have held by brevet or other commissions in the volunteer service. (R. S., sec. 1226.)

The addition of these provisions for regulating the tailoring of the diplomatic corps to suit the standards of his senatorial constituency was the immediate, and so far as I know the only, official result of the Governor's first and only visit to the Old World.

In the personal instructions of the State Department to its diplomatic officers, it is now the custom to recite the above-quoted passages from the Morton Act, and to add these words which restore to its diplomatic agents the freedom in regard to their ceremonial attire of which there was never any sufficient occasion for depriving them:

> In all other cases, diplomatic officers are permitted to wear upon occasions of ceremony the dress which local usage prescribes as appropriate to the hour and place. At some capitals a court dress is prescribed by custom.

VI

THE CONFEDERATE NAVY BUILDING IN FRANCE

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 3, 1865.

Sir:

I HAVE received from our consul at Nantes the testimony of two sailors employed on board the steam-tug *Expéditif* when she was sent with coals to the ram *Olinde* and to bring off her Danish crew. A translation is enclosed.

I also enclose a despatch received from our consul at Elsinore, in reply to one addressed by me to him a few days since, which confirms the information I had received that the *Stoerkodder* left full of coals; but it reveals another fact which may prove of grave importance. The *Olinde* seems to have taken in only thirty tons of coal in Denmark. If so, it is to be presumed that she left Bordeaux loaded with coal, and if so, that her delivery to the Confederates, as it has occurred, was planned before her departure from France. I shall pursue this inquiry diligently.

I shall request our minister at Lisbon, by this evening's mail, to put himself in such relation with the French minister at that court as to secure the co-operation of the French government in any efforts he may find it advantageous to make for the seizure of the *Olinde,* should she appear in Portuguese waters.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 3, 1865.

Sir:

In order to have no controversy about the facts connected with the recent escape of the steam ram *Olinde* from the waters of France, after the lapse of time should render their verification more difficult, I prepared a statement of such as seemed at once most authentic and most material, and handed it yesterday in person to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. A copy is annexed. His excellency asked if he should read it then. I briefly explained its tenor and purpose, and begged him to read it at his leisure, unless he had some communication to make to me then upon the subject to which it referred. He then went on to say that he was not sufficiently informed about the case to discuss it; that the subject was under investigation by the Minister of Marine, and as soon as his report came to hand he would communicate with me. I said that I thought there were obvious advantages in having the investigation made, and a policy, which I had no doubt would be the just one, adopted by the government before any echo of the news reached here from the other side of the Atlantic. He referred to the precautions he had previously taken to prevent the escape of these vessels into improper hands, and assured me that the subject was then receiving the earnest attention of the government.

On Tuesday evening I met the Minister of Marine at Lady Cowley's, talking with Baron André of the Foreign Office. He began at once to speak of the efforts he was making to learn the history of the escaped rams. Our discussion brought out no new fact, but it confirmed an impression which I had received at our previous interview, that he feels very anxious to escape any responsibility for what has occurred. He repeated what he had said before to me, that he had complete evidence under the hand and seal of the Danish government of their purchase of the ship. He represented to Baron André and myself that his chief solicitude was to know what the government ought to do with the men through whose complicity this

vessel was turned from her lawful destination, implying at the same time that this government was entirely sheltered from any liability to the United States.

I am, etc.

BIGELOW TO DAVISSON, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT BORDEAUX

PARIS, 4th February, 1865.

Sir:

I am informed that the *Stoerkodder,* now called the *Olinde,* was full of coals when she arrived at Copenhagen, less about thirty tons consumed on her voyage, which she replaced there. Will you try and ascertain what amount of coals she took from Bordeaux? This information, if verified, will show that the final destination of this ram was planned by her owners before she ever left the waters of France.

Any disbursements you may find it necessary to make in procuring this or any other information required in discharge of your official duty, you are authorized to charge in your account of miscellaneous expenses with the State Department.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO H. S. SANFORD

PARIS, 5th February, 1865.

Sir:

Mr. Perry[1] telegraphs from Madrid this morning as follows (he had telegraphed that a Confederate steamer was lying at Corunna to make repairs): "C'est le vapeur *Stonewall,* cuirassé en fer, capitaine T. J. Page; 3 cannons; force 300 chevaux; 79 équipage; de Copenhagen pour l'Amérique; à l'arsenal de Ferrol; demande réparation."

Ferrol is opposite Corunna. Where are our steamers? None of them have reported to this legation in months. They might as well go home if they cannot keep in relation with those who

[1] Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid.

know something of what is going on. The *Iroquois* was in Quiberon Bay only a few days before the *Olinde* was fitted out there. I knew nothing of her departure from anywhere or her arrival anywhere. This *Stonewall* is no doubt the *Olinde*. M. Drouyn de Lhuys told me that we ought to send our vessels down to Ferrol and watch her. I shall telegraph to Craven at Flushing, without any hope of his getting my message. Can you tell me where any of our ships are? If so, I beg you will do so by return mail.

Yours in very great haste

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 6, 1865.

Sir:

I received a telegram on Saturday from Mr. Perry, secretary of the legation at Madrid, advising me that a Confederate steamer had put into Corunna, in Spain, for repairs. The next morning, about 11 o'clock, I received another despatch from Mr. Perry (enclosure No. 1) giving such a description of the vessel referred to in his previous despatch as to satisfy me that it was the *Stoerkodder,* alias the *Olinde,* alias the *Stonewall,* and that she had sought refuge in the dock-yard of Ferrol for repairs.

I immediately drove to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was fortunate enough to find M. Drouyn de Lhuys in his cabinet. I communicated to him the information I had received, of which he took a copy, and my reasons for believing the vessel at Ferrol to be the *Olinde.* After he was fully possessed of my facts, I suggested to his excellency the propriety of immediately instructing his ambassador at Madrid, by telegraph, to ask the Spanish government to detain the vessel at least until the inquest, which the Minister of Marine was making in the case of the *Olinde,* was completed, and his excellency had an opportunity of communicating more fully with his minister at Madrid upon the subject. M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied that he had written twice to the Minister of Marine, pressing him for a report of the evidence in the case of the

Olinde, but as yet nothing had been received from that department. He could not, he thought, with propriety, give any order upon the subject to his diplomatic agents till he had heard from the Minister of Marine. He also betrayed some uneasiness, lest in taking the initiative he might be assuming a greater degree of responsibility for what had recently occurred at Quiberon bay than was consistent with his theory that the *Olinde* was a Danish and not a French vessel. I explained that a crime had been committed against the laws of France, hence the inquest upon which the Minister of Marine was engaged; till the authors and extent of that crime were ascertained and punished, France had an interest in detaining the vessel and all on board as contingently liable in damages; that this right was quite independent of the nationality of the vessel, upon which there was no immediate occasion to give an opinion. The *Olinde* was the *corps de délit* in a sense, and France had a right to insist upon her remaining at Ferrol to await the pending investigation. His excellency seemed to assent to this view, but again referred to the absence of official evidence. I asked him if there would be any impropriety in my going to the Minister of Marine, showing him my despatch, and discussing the subject with him. "None whatever," was his prompt reply, and he wished me to mention to the Minister of Marine that he was waiting for his report, without which he was unable to take any step in the premises.

I immediately went to the Minister of Marine, whom I was also fortunate enough to find in his cabinet. I made substantially the same communication to him that I had made to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, including the message I had been requested to deliver.

His excellency informed me that the papers in the case of the *Olinde* were just complete, except that the testimony of Arman had not been taken, and that they were on the point of being sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; he said, of course, he could give no orders to the diplomatic agents of the government, but that if I would return to M. Drouyn de Lhuys after he had had time to read the report I might renew my proposition, and the despatch might be sent on that night. He suggested that I should go at 2 o'clock, and promised that in the course of the afternoon he would see M. Drouyn de Lhuys himself.

I told him I should follow his advice, and in doing so should

use his name. Before leaving I saw the report folded, sealed, directed, and delivered into the hands of a messenger, who set out with it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At 2 o'clock I went again to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but unfortunately M. Drouyn de Lhuys had gone out.

I immediately returned to the legation and addressed to him a communication, of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy.

I then sent the following telegram to Mr. Perry, at Madrid, and to Mr. Sanford, at Brussels:

"February 5, 1865.

"The steamer *Stonewall,* Captain Page, 3 cannons, 300 horse-power, 79 men, from Copenhagen, *via* France, for America, flag of Confederates, is at Ferrol, Spain, for repairs. It is doubtless the *Olinde.*

"BIGELOW."

I also addressed to Mr. Perry, by mail, a communication, of which enclosure No. 3 is a copy. I received from Mr. Sanford this afternoon the following despatch: *"Craven telegraphs from Dover, acknowledging the receipt of my yesterday's despatch."* I presume from this that the *Niagara* will soon be at Corunna, if she is not under conflicting orders. I omitted to state that in my interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs he twice asked where our ships were and advised me to send them after her at once. I was sorry not to have any definite information upon the subject.

. . . . . .

To explain where the *Olinde* was between the 2d of January, when she left Copenhagen, and the 23d, when she arrived off Palais, Belle-Isle, I enclose an extract from a letter received from our consul at Elsinore (enclosure No. 4). I also enclose an extract from a letter received this morning from our consul at Bordeaux, in reference to the *Stoerkodder's* supply of coals (enclosure No. 5).

I hope before the departure of the next mail to have something to send you from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in reference to this case.

I remain, sir, etc.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Telegraphic despatch]

MADRID, February 5, 1865—7½ o'clock.

It is the iron-clad steamer *Stonewall,* Captain T. J. Page; 3 cannon; 300 horse-power; 79 crew; from Copenhagen for America; at dock-yard of Ferrol; asks repairs.

HORATIO PERRY.

BIGELOW TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 7th, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 24th ultimo, concerning the copy of a dispatch in cipher from the Secretary of State, reached me by due course of mail. On Thursday last I found what seemed a suitable opportunity of asking the Minister of Foreign Affairs if any proposals of the character referred to in the dispatch had been made to him. He very promptly replied in the negative and took some pains to make his denial as broad as possible by saying that not only no person had spoken to him upon the subject, but that nothing had been written to him to indicate that any such purpose was in contemplation. He extended his remarks by saying that he was not aware of any such communication having been made to any one else, by which I understood him to refer to the Emperor. All he knew about the matter he had gathered from a newspaper article.

I asked the question rather to see what the Emperor's First Secretary would say than because I had any doubt of the fact. The South has no friends here any longer, though the North has many enemies.

I am, dear sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 7, 1865.

Sir:

. . . . . .

The current impression in all quarters here is that our war is drawing to a close, and that the Union is to be preserved. It was proposed in the board of direction of the Bank of France last week, a few days since, to lower the rate of discount from 4½ to 4 per cent. One of the directors objected. He said there was every reason to anticipate an early termination of the war in America, in which case an advance in the rates of the bank will become necessary. For his part he would deem it more prudent now to put the rate at 5 than at 4 per cent. The result was that the old rate of 4½ per cent. was continued.

You have doubtless remarked another circumstance equally significant of the change which public opinion has undergone in Europe within a few months. Formerly federal successes advanced the price of cotton at Liverpool; for some time past they have had precisely the contrary effect.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, February 7, 1865.

Sir:

Delays of mails and interruptions in my labors have prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your despatch of January 13, No. 3.

It gives me pleasure to approve and confirm all you said to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the occasion of presenting your credentials. I like well, also, the tone and the general tenor of the conversation on his part, as you have reported it to me. I have only one reservation on that subject to make. It seems to me that a time has come when France at least, of all the

European powers, should be able to renew her ancient faith in the stability of the united American republic. You have a pleasant and important duty to perform in leading France to that conclusion, which would be hardly less beneficial to her than to the United States.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 9, 1865.

Sir:

Reference had to my dispatch No. 8, I desire to call your attention to the following official statement which I translate from the *Moniteur* of yesterday morning:

"All reports circulating in the journals relative to a cession made to France by the Mexican government of certain premises of Sonora, Chihuahua, etc., etc., are absolutely unfounded."

The rumors which this paragraph is designed to put at rest have been widely circulated in Europe and had begun to provoke discussion even in France, but in a tone uniformly unfavorable to the cession, the proximity of the new colony to the United States being always enumerated as its chief objection.

Last evening at the palace, after presenting a few of my country people before the opening of the ball, His Majesty said to me, "I am sorry those reports got into the journals about Sonora; there is nothing whatever in them." I replied that I was happy to read the paragraph to that effect in the morning's *Moniteur,* though I had already satisfied myself that the reports were incorrect. His Majesty then added laughingly, "What I want is to get out of it altogether."[1] Here our conversation was brought to an abrupt termination by the approach of the Grand Chamberlain to inform me that the Empress was waiting for me to present my compatriots to her.

I am, sir, etc.

[1] He was already negotiating with Gwin to go to Sonora and found there a colony of Confederates.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 10, 1865.

Sir:

Within the past week the controversy between the French Government and the national Church has passed into a new and somewhat portentous phase. Cardinal Mathieu, Archbishop of Besançon, Senator, etc., Monsignor de Dreux-Brezé, Bishop of Moulins, have severally read the recent encyclical letter of the Pope entire to their dioceses from the cathedral chairs, without the previous authorization of the Government and in defiance of a warning issued upon the subject by the Minister of Worship on the 1st of January last.

Yesterday morning the *Moniteur* contained an elaborate report from the pen of Councillor of State Langlais setting forth the history and policy of the law requiring the dogmatical communications of the Papal Secretary to receive the approval of the Minister of Public Worship before they can be officially published in France, and accompanying this report was an imperial decree against each of the disobedient bishops, pronouncing them guilty of "abuse in reading from their episcopal pulpits the part of the encyclical letter, the reception, publication and execution of which have not been authorized in any part of the French Empire."

The law under which this decree issues was exacted about sixty years ago, though it was little more than a repetition of the old Gallican doctrine deliberately asserted by the French Government and Church in the 18th century. It reads as follows:

"No bull, brief, rescript, decree, order, provision, signature to a provision, nor other communications from Rome, even if relating only to private individuals, may be received, published, printed or put into operation without the authorization of the Government."

There is no sanction to this law, and the decree therefore is apparently a *brutum fulmen,* so far as the two Bishops are concerned. The Government can withhold their salaries and it can banish them if it please, but no one suspects it of any

intention to resort to petty penalties. The significance and the gravity of the step consists rather in the willingness manifested on the one side to give and on the other to accept battle. It is a step which widens the breach between the French Government and the Church and tends to close up the ranks of the respective parties for a more serious struggle.

In the same sheet which published these decrees you will find the following paragraph:

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs, after having taken the order of the Emperor, has invited the Ambassador of His Majesty near the Holy See to complain of two letters addressed by the Apostolic Nuncio to the Bishops of Orléans and of Poitiers, letters which have been published in the journals and which constitute an infraction of international law and of the public law of France."

The objectionable features of these letters were a couple of lines praising the courage which the prelates addressed had shown, in defending what had been taught by the Pope and indirectly denounced by the Government. This subject, of course, absorbs the attention of the press and of the public, and "the liberty of prophesying" enjoyed in the United States is constantly cited with approval in the discussion to which it gives rise.

The boldness with which the Pope in his encyclical letter attacked the principles upon which the Imperial Government was founded and has been conducted, is attributed by some to a consciousness of hidden strength in the Church and of hidden weakness in Italy and in France, of which the Papal Government is prepared to avail itself. On the other hand, the Imperial Government has shown a readiness to assert its prerogatives which indicates either great confidence in its resources or a pressing necessity to diminish the political power of the Church.

The Emperor must put an end to the *non-possumus* policy which is exhausting Italy, or he must soon consent to abandon Victor Emmanuel to the fate from which he made war with Austria five years ago to rescue him. The presumption raised by all the signs of the times is that he means to adhere to his neighbor, ally and kinsman and to try conclusions with the pontifical politicians as soon as possible.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 10, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a communication, received this morning from his excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, informing me that the inquiry which had been instituted by the Minister of Marine into the circumstances connected with the appearance of the *Olinde* on the French coast had been transferred to the department of his excellency the Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, with the view to judicial proceedings if occasion should exist for them.

I hail the omen, and remain, very sincerely, yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 10, 1865.

Sir:

I have this moment received the following despatch from our chargé d'affaires at Madrid:

"The privateer *Stonewall* will probably leave to-morrow.

"PERRY."

I have not received a line from Mr. Perry by post, nor have I received any information of any kind from any of our naval officers, except that Commodore Craven had received the substance of the despatch which I sent to Mr. Sanford on Sunday. I presume the *Niagara* was at, or in the neighborhood of, Ferrol before this, but I have no notice of her arrival there, nor indeed any positive assurance that she has sailed for that port.

I hope, however, this mail may take to you fuller intelligence upon all these points. Permit me to suggest that it would be a great convenience, and, possibly, a great advantage, if our

vessels on this station were instructed to notify the legations of the United States in countries with which they are in communication when they arrive in port, and, if practicable, the day of their departure, if possible, a few days in advance. If the *Stonewall* gets off, it is some consolation to reflect that notice of her intentions has preceded her, and that the note of preparation has been sounded.

It is possible she may have to go to Lisbon to complete her equipment, as was stated by one of the sailors to be the commodore's intention. In that case, our minister at Portugal may be more successful in detaining her than Mr. Perry has been.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I have received, read, and burned your note of the 27th, as you suggested.[1] The contents are known only to the President here.

Faithfully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, February 13, 1865.

Sir:

I transmit a copy of a despatch, and of its accompaniments, of the 22d of November last, addressed to this department by F. B. Elmer, Esq., United States consul at La Paz, in Mexico, relative to the removal of powder from the United States schooner *William L. Richardson,* while on a voyage from San Francisco to the mouth of the Colorado river, by the commander of the French war steamer *Diamant.* The powder

[1] My official report of the circumstances attending the sudden death of my predecessor, Mr. Dayton.

referred to is shown by the papers to have been consigned to Paul Heller, at Tucson, in Arizona Territory, and is alleged to have been intended for mining purposes in that Territory.

The belligerent right of the French to prevent contraband of war from reaching Mexican territory during the existence of hostilities in that country may be conceded. That right, however, cannot be allowed to interfere with perfect free trade in all commodities between ports of the United States. You will consequently present this case to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and in your note upon the subject you will say that, if the facts should, upon investigation, turn out to be as set forth in the papers, the value of the powder, and such other reparation as the case may call for, will be expected by this government.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 14, 1865.

Sir:

In the *Gironde* of Bordeaux, bearing date the 13th instant, and just come to hand, I find a note from the Danish consul at that port, of which the following is a translation:

"*Mr. Editor:*

"Your sheet of the 10th instant contains a note apropos of the *Olinde* affair, in which it is stated that this vessel had been sold by M. Arman, the builder, to Denmark, that she had paid for it, and that Arman only learned through the journals of the change of destination of the vessel, with which he had no concern.

"Permit me to address to you the following rectification, which I beg you will have the goodness to insert in your next issue.

"The iron-clad ram built last year by M. Arman, and which left Bordeaux bearing the name of the *Stoerkodder,* has never been definitely sold to Denmark; the Danish government having, on the contrary, refused to accept a delivery of her.

There has never been any question of paying her price, and she has been returned to her constructor, who has never ceased to have entire control of her.

"Accept, sir, etc.,

"E. KIRSTEIN,

"Consul of Denmark."

The *Gironde* accompanied this letter with the following remark:

"In respect to the announcements made in this letter we have only to state that they are in absolute conflict with the information furnished to us, and which we are bound to esteem correct."

Mr. Adams telegraphed from London last evening that the Baltic was frozen over and no mail, which I suppose was intended to explain why I did not receive something more authoritative upon this subject through Mr. Wood from the Danish government in time for this mail.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO COMMANDER CRAVEN

6 RUE PRESBOURG,
13 February, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Immediately upon learning by a telegram from our Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid that a Confederate steamer called the *Stonewall* had sought shelter at Ferrol, I knew from his description that she was the ram built by Arman originally for the Confederates and recently equipped in the Bay of Quiberon for the Confederate service. I went the same day—Sunday week—both to the Minister of Marine and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, satisfied them of her identity, and begged them to ask the Spanish government through their representatives at Madrid to detain her at least until the suspicious circumstances attending her arrival at and departure from the Bay of Quiberon were investigated.

They took a few days to consider the subject and finally

declined on the ground that she was a Danish vessel, that she entered their waters flying a Danish flag, and manned by a Danish crew, and received her crew from a British steamer in an open roadstead not under the observation of any fort, &c. They said I should invoke the intervention of the Danish government, who were responsible alone for the destination of the *Stonewall.*

But for the fear of compromising themselves by appearing to have any interest in pursuing the *Stonewall,* I think they would have yielded to my solicitations, although I am not sure even of that.

The Minister of Marine tells me she is a poor vessel. I think, however, she is heavily armed, one 300-pounder & two 120-pounders at least. I hope to hear every hour that the *Sacramento* has joined you. I can learn nothing of the *Iroquois* except from a dispatch shown me by the Minister of Marine, which stated that she was in Quiberon bay only a few days before the *Stonewall* arrived there.

Mr. Perry encourages me to hope that the *Stonewall* cannot sail without repairs, and that the Spanish Government will not allow her any facilities for making them. Between him and you I hope you will succeed in detaining her a few days longer. On Thursday I will make a new effort to shake the determination of M. Drouyn de Lhuys and induce him to intercede with Spain, though that is a forlorn hope without some louder thunder for his ears than I can invoke at present.

I would be glad to know your situation and prospects in detail as soon as possible. I wish you would please show this letter, if you see no objection, to the Consular agent at Corunna or Ferrol and say to him that I would be glad to hear from him also by letter or telegraph as occasion may arise.

I am, dear sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, February 14, 1865.

Sir:

The *Stonewall* was yesterday afternoon lying at Ferrol. Mr. Perry states, upon the authority of the Consular agent at

Ferrol, that she stands in need of repairs before she can take the sea, and that the Spanish Government will refuse her permission to make them.

Captain Craven is at Corunna with the *Niagara*. He exhibits impatience to have the *Sacramento* join him. Mr. Harvey[1] informs me that the *Sacramento* is undergoing repairs also at Lisbon, but as far as I can gather from their dispatches, she will soon be, if she is not already, on her way to Corunna. I doubt if Craven feels entirely confident of his ability to meet the *Stonewall* single-handed. He asked me, ignorant I presume of what I have already attempted, to solicit the intercession of France with the Spanish Government to detain her. Mr. Perry informs me confidentially that the fortifications of Ferrol are not strong enough to keep the *Stonewall* if she is determined to go out. If so, the only effectual mode of detaining her is by sending vessels of war, and I doubt whether France has anything at hand that she would dare to expose to such an enemy.

I shall endeavor to shake M. Drouyn de Lhuys's determination when I see him on Thursday. I am unwilling to reply in writing to his letter of the 7th February, because I think it my duty to leave to you the selection of the ground upon which the controversy over this vessel, which is impending, shall be waged.

I have reason to believe that Slidell wrote home by the last mail that the Spanish Government had sent to their Minister, M. Mon, in Paris, to ascertain whether France desired the detention of the vessel; that M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that they had nothing to do with her; and that M. Mon sent for Mr. Slidell, who satisfied him that the *Stonewall* was a regularly commissioned Confederate vessel.

If Slidell is correctly reported, and I suppose he is, it only confirms me in the opinion, towards which I have been steadily drifting since my interview with the Minister of Marine on Sunday week, that the depredations which the *Stonewall* may occasion us will be the least of the troubles of the government. They don't care how much these steamers worry us, provided they do not give us an opportunity of fixing the responsibility for what occurs upon them. So long as our Congress persists in teasing them with resolutions about Mexico, they will tease us according to their opportunities.

[1] United States Minister to Portugal.

Though I am unable to assign any very satisfactory authority for it, I am strongly impressed with the conviction that, but for the Mexican entanglement, the insurgents would receive very little farther countenance from the Imperial Government and that a reconciliation of the national policies of the two countries on that question would speedily dispose of all other sources of dissatisfaction.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 16, 1865.

Sir:

Upon the receipt of your dispatch No. 20, announcing the death of the Honorable Edward Everett, and after satisfying myself by consultation in proper quarters of the propriety of such a step, I addressed to Monsieur Mignet, the "Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences," of which Mr. Everett was a corresponding member, a letter announcing his decease.

My letter and Monsieur Mignet's reply are enclosed.

I have the honor to remain, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO MIGNET

Translation

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 3, 1865.

Sir:

Official intelligence has just reached me of the death of the Honorable Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

Mr. Everett had the honor to be enrolled among the cor-

responding members of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in the year 1858.

This flattering testimonial of his claims to the admiration and gratitude of mankind, while it deprives me of any occasion to enumerate them, renders it proper that I should bring the sad intelligence of this more than national loss to your official notice.

I embrace this occasion, Mr. Secretary, to assure you of the distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

MIGNET TO BIGELOW

Translation

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MORAL AND POLITICAL,
PARIS, 11 February, 1865.

Sir:

I communicated to the Academy at its sitting of Saturday last the sad news of the death of Mr. Edward Everett, of which you officially informed me by the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 3d of February. The Academy, which had attached Mr. Everett to it in naming him one of its correspondents, has felt sensibly the loss of this eminent man, so commendable by his character, so distinguished by his merits. I am the interpreter of its sentiments in transmitting to you the lively expression of its regrets.

Be pleased to accept, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 16, 1865.

Sir:

This being the day set apart by the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the reception of the diplomatic corps on business,

I profited by the opportunity to speak of the *Stonewall* case to him.

I commenced by asking if anything had been done or projected by the Minister of Justice, to whom his excellency was good enough to inform me that the *Stonewall* case had been transferred, for the punishment of the persons engaged in equipping her within the waters of France. His excellency replied that as yet the Minister of Justice had made no report to him upon the subject; that the case was under investigation, and the moment any result was reached, that I should be apprised of it. I asked if there was no summary process in France, as there is in England and America, for arresting persons on "probable cause," to await the result of an investigation, assuming that if there was, there could be no difficulty in showing "probable cause" against some of the parties, especially J. Rivière, who was now in Paris, and those who took out the coal. His excellency, without replying very directly to this inquiry, said that the laws of France in commercial matters were generally pretty severe; that the subject had been committed to the Minister of Justice with a full statement of the information elicited by the investigation of the Minister of Marine, as well as that communicated by me; that judicial proceedings did not usually move with such rapidity as to yield any result in so short a time; and finally, that he would see or write to M. Baroche again upon the subject. I urged him to do so with as little delay as possible. I said that the crime committed was of a character which all our people would comprehend, and the best evidence to their intelligence that the Imperial Government resented the outrage would be the arrest and punishment of some at least of the offenders. I then expressed my regret that his excellency had not seen fit to entertain favorably my application on Sunday week for the benefit of his influence with Spain, and also that I had not been able to appreciate the force of his objections to such a step. His excellency replied that, with every disposition to oblige me, he did not see how he could undertake to police the waters of Spain; that he could understand perfectly how Spain could detain the *Stonewall,* for she was in Spanish waters, and how Denmark might intercede with Spain for her detention, for she exchanged a Danish for a Confederate flag; but France stood in no such relation to the ship or to any of the parties as

would justify her interference with the *Stonewall* in a Spanish port, nor could she without directly admitting, what he most explicitly denied, that she was a French vessel. He then recapitulated the history of the process by which he became satisfied that the ship had been sold to Denmark before he authorized her departure from Bordeaux. This I will not repeat, as he added nothing to what I have already communicated to you, except that the correspondence between him and the Danish government was conducted by telegraph. I then said that my request did not involve any decision on his part of the nationality of the *Stonewall;* that I was not yet prepared to discuss that question, and I hoped with his assistance it would never be necessary for us to discuss it. I simply assumed, what was now a fact of common notoriety, that a crime had been committed within the waters of France by the proprietors of the *Stonewall* against the laws of France; the perpetrators of that crime, or some of them, were easily identified; the *Stonewall* was the *corps de délit.* I only asked of the French government not to demand as a right, but simply to intimate a wish to the Spanish government, that the *Stonewall* should be detained to await the result of this investigation. I said I had reason to believe the Spanish government would be happy to have such a pretext for adhering to a line of policy to which it has already partially committed itself. I here at his request recapitulated briefly what the Spanish government had done, not doubting all the while that his excellency knew a great deal more about it than I did myself.

I then went on to point out the analogy, which in my communication of the 5th instant I had not been fortunate enough to make apparent to his excellency, between the cases of the *Rappahannock* and the *Stonewall.* The former vessel entered a French port and wished to complete her equipment that she might go out and prey upon the commerce of a friend of France; his excellency tied her up in Calais, and there she lies to this day. The *Stonewall* came into French waters to do the same thing, to complete her equipment, that she might also prey upon the commerce of the United States. No matter what flag she bore when she entered the port, what she proposed to do, what she actually did, was a crime against the laws of France. The *Stonewall* is now repeating the offence in the waters of Spain. France, in vindication of her outraged

laws, can with perfect propriety request Spain to do what she has herself already done under similar circumstances, more especially as Spain, I was convinced, would welcome the co-operation of France in support of such a policy.

His excellency listened to what I said with profound attention, and did not contest any of my positions, not even the analogy of the *Rappahannock* case, which he had questioned in his despatch of the 7th. He avowed the most earnest desire to co-operate with me in any practicable effort to arrest the career of this vessel, but he said he had no authority to assume any one guilty of a crime, when a colleague in the government was specially charged to investigate the question. If he were to instruct M. Mercier[1] upon the assumption that a crime had been committed, he might be obliged to-morrow to countermand his instructions. He did not wish to move in the matter without something to shelter him from responsibility to his colleagues. If M. Baroche would simply say to him that a crime had been committed, of which the *Stonewall* was the *corps de délit,* he then would be able to act. He said he would take occasion to see M. Baroche at once and ascertain the position of the case, and allowed me to infer that he would do all he could in the premises without compromising his own government. I repeated to him that it had been and was no part of my purpose at this interview to discuss the nationality of the *Olinde,* now called the *Stonewall,* but simply to invoke his friendly co-operation with us in persuading Spain to detain the vessel if only for a few weeks, during which time events were likely to occur that would relieve us of any further trouble on her account. Here his excellency, while expressing entire willingness to do his best for us as soon as he could receive suitable assurances from the Minister of Justice, remarked that he had gathered from M. Mercier's communications that that gentleman had already allowed the Spanish government to see that the detention of the *Stonewall* would not be ungrateful to him.

I had conceived a suspicion of something of this kind in spite of the tone assumed by M. Mercier to Mr. Perry, but, to make sure that I understood his excellency correctly, I said, "M. Mercier left upon the mind of our Chargé at Madrid a different impression." "Of course he did," was the reply; "it was

[1] French Ambassador at Madrid.

his duty to do so, for he had no instructions which authorized him to act otherwise." In other words, as I understood it, M. Mercier had considered himself instructed, through some channel or another, to keep the vessel if he could on his own responsibility and without compromising his government with Spain, Denmark or the United States, but especially with the United States.

I have here given, I believe, the spirit of a long conversation, with the tone of which, on the part of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I felt perfectly satisfied. I think the subject is one in dealing with which he is obliged by the political exigencies of his position to act with great circumspection; but so far as I could gather from his language, tone and manner, he was fully impressed with the justice of what I asked, and I shall be surprised if he does not promptly manifest through suitable channels a new interest in preventing the escape of the *Stonewall*. I only hope his efforts may not be made too late.

I am, sir, etc.

Of course I did not know then, as we know now, that Drouyn de Lhuys was not the man behind the gun, nor did he probably half know with what that man was loading it.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, 17 February, 1865.

Sir:

The Corps Législatif was opened by the Emperor on the 15th inst. with customary impressiveness. I enclose a copy of His Majesty's discourse. He treated the discovery of Columbus with conspicuous reserve. As in a family of children the infant is apt to engross the parental affection, so out of the large family of American states, the youngest born was the only one that cost His Majesty a remark. This silence in regard to the United States was natural. There has been, and from the nature of things there must continue to be, while our

war lasts, so much of menace in our attitude towards Mexico, that the Emperor could hardly have pursued a course more consistent with his own dignity or more satisfactory to his subjects on this occasion than by observing an expressive silence. The tone of the discourse was eminently tranquillizing.

The various allusions to his Gallican-Ecclesiastical policy were received by his audience with strong marks of approbation.

There was one paragraph of the speech to which I attach a larger meaning than perhaps it deserves:

"The Convention of the 15th of September, disentangled from passionate interpretations, consecrates two great principles—the firm establishment of the new Kingdom of Italy, and the independence of the Holy See. The provisional and precarious state of affairs which excited so much alarm will soon terminate. It is no longer the scattered members of the Italian nation seeking to connect themselves by feeble links to a small state situated at the foot of the Alps; it is a great country which rises above local prejudices, despising the ebullitions of unreflecting agitations, which boldly transfers its capital to the centre of the Peninsula and places it in the midst of the Apennines, as in an impregnable citadel. By this act of patriotism *Italy definitely constituted herself* and at the same time reconciles herself with Catholicity."

I have not been able to resist the suspicion that this language, coupled with the silence of the Italian and French press for some months about Venetia, imports some kind of a transaction *in esse* or *in posse* for a termination of the boundary quarrels between Italy, Austria and Rome, by common sacrifices and by the adoption of the Apennines as one of the natural boundaries of Italy.

What is said about the return of the Army from Mexico is doubtless correct, so far as the wish and intention of the government is concerned, though it does not correspond with information, which reached me a few days since, of orders having recently been issued for more troops to be in readiness to leave for Mexico upon short notice.

The speech is received with great favor by the Liberal press, while the domestic policy which is foreshadowed appears to have given universal satisfaction.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, 17 February, 1865.

Sir:

One of the last communications which I had the honor to address you from the Consulate related to a scheme for enrolling Poles in this city and in other parts of France and Europe for the Confederates. I am now able to give you some more definite information upon the subject.

The project had its origin with a Colonel Smolenski, a Pole by birth, who had resided many years in Texas and who came out here to take part in the recent Polish revolution. He could not agree with the Polish commissioners here; abandoned their cause and projected a scheme for the colonization of the northern frontier states of the Confederacy with his unfortunate country people, who were to be supplied with a passage, a farm and some other privileges on condition that they would bear arms, if necessary, in defence of their new homes. The terms were framed under the direction of a Mr. Williams, an Englishman, of whom I can learn nothing precise, and a man named Bujnicky, a refugee from Russian Poland, whose property has been confiscated and whose wife has been sent to Siberia. This man went on the 26th of December last to London for funds. He was here the other day, but without funds. His address there is *Hotel Krall, John Street, American Square, London.* Two Poles, one named Wilkieweiz and the other Leongewski, were charged to receive the enrollments. When the number reached 300 they were to be sent on to the Confederate states, and it was to obtain funds to meet the expenses of their expedition that Bujnicky went to London. Three different recruiting stations were opened in Paris, and I am told that the number of 300 would have been ready if the funds had arrived.

Before the affair, however, had reached this point, the police, whose forbearance had been counted upon, and not without reason, began to take a new interest in what was going on, and M. Bondeville, the head of the department of police which is occupied with the movements of emigrants, sent his men and

seized all the lists and documents in possession of the recruiting agents and put an end, for the present at least, to the scheme.

He took exception to the clause of their articles about bearing arms; said he had no objection to their going as mere colonists where they pleased, but the conditions of their enlistment compromised the neutrality of France. They must find means to go somewhere else to enlist, if they wished to enter the Confederate service. He then said that *if they wished to enter the Mexican service they might receive some encouragement.* There the matter now stands. I presume if these men avail themselves of M. Bondeville's proposal they will be used in aid of the Emperor's undertaking to bring back the French army from Mexico.

I learn from the same source which supplies me these details that a Mr. Irvin S. Bullock and a Mr. Lewis were here on the 2nd of January to confer with the recruiting agents about their business and left on the 5th for Marseilles and Toulon. They have not returned so far as I can learn, though, as I was informed about that time, they were soon expected.

Two hundred and fifty Polish volunteers enlisted in London and are expected to embark at Liverpool on the 25th of this month. Some Polish refugees in Switzerland have written to a Mr. Teichman, also a Pole, acting for the Confederates here, asking for aid to carry them to the Confederate territory. It is also reported here among the Poles that Count Sabolewsky had been furnished with 45,000 francs to be used in collecting Polish recruits at Zurich and in Italy.

While applications from Frenchmen and Germans for service in our army have been constant for three years past, I do not remember to have received half a dozen from Poles during my residence here. This fact, taken in connection with what seems a sort of combined movement among the refugees of that unhappy province, leads me to suppose that some means have been used to persuade them that they have common cause with the insurgents against us on the ground that the United States have made common cause with Russia.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, February 21, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of several despatches from you, relating to a piratical vessel which was built for the insurgents by Arman, ship-builder at Bordeaux, went under a sale, or negotiation for sale, to Copenhagen, came from that port to Houat island, received an armament and a crew there from an English steamer, and coal from a French steamer, and then took her departure in a southwesterly direction. These despatches are: No. 13, dated January 30th; No. 14, dated January 31st; Nos. 16 and 17, both of which bear the date of February 3d. I have also received several telegraphic despatches in relation to the same vessel from our very vigilant consul at Nantes.

I have also received advices from our minister at Madrid, to the effect that a piratical vessel from Copenhagen has put into Ferrol for repairs, which vessel may or may not be the one to which your despatches refer. The knowledge of the affair which we have thus far been able to acquire is very vague and unsatisfactory. It is uncertain whether there are not at large two of the vessels built at Bordeaux for the insurgents, instead of one. We cannot certainly ascertain whether the vessel which was reported at Ferrol is the same vessel which is also reported at Corunna, under the name of the *Shenandoah.* We cannot definitely decide whether the Danish government has been derelict in the performance of international duty, nor will we for a moment believe that the French government has intentionally permitted its faith to be compromitted. We do not yet certainly know that the vessel or vessels in question have passed into the hands of the rebels. It is only in general terms, therefore, that I am able to write upon the subject, and what I do must be on condition that the facts represented shall be verified. I approve the communication you have addressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and I sincerely hope that the next steamer may bring us intelligence that the Emperor's government has adopted effectual means

to vindicate its sovereignty, and to defeat those of its subjects who have engaged in this new attempt to commit it to a war with the United States. You are authorized to say this to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and to add that this government will expect indemnity for whatever injuries to the United States shall be inflicted by the pirate vessel in question from the parties to whom, in the end, the responsibility shall be traced; that after an endurance of covert war from the subjects of maritime states, of which we admit with pleasure that France has not been one, but which covert war has been rendered practically effective by the policy in which all the maritime states have hitherto concurred, in opposition to the unremitted remonstrances of the United States, this government now expects that the maritime powers will rescind all decrees, orders, and regulations, by which they concede belligerent naval privileges to vessels built, fitted out, armed and equipped in foreign states with which the United States are maintaining relations of peace and amity. I reserve more definitive instructions until we shall hear your report of the proceedings of the Emperor's government.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, February 22, 1865.

Sir:

. . . . . .

From the account which you give me of the state of opinion on American affairs now prevailing in Paris, I infer that there is less cause than heretofore for anxiety about our relations with the Emperor. If we can be fortunate enough to avoid actual collisions between the armed subjects or authorities of the European powers and our own, by sea as well as by land, time and events may then be expected to render easy of solution political questions which now it is even hazardous to touch. I trust that the affair of the *Olinde* may prove to be one in which we are to suffer no injury, and so have no cause of complaint against France.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 28, 1865.

Sir:

On Sunday morning, the 25th instant, I was called upon very early by a Mr. Palmer, who brought me enclosure No. 1 from Commodore Craven, of the *Niagara,* then lying at Ferrol.

Mr. Palmer informed me that it was his impression that when Commodore Craven came around from Corunna to Ferrol, he had intended to run into and sink the *Stonewall,* but he found her lying in such a position on his arrival, fortunately, as to render the success of such an assault doubtful. Mr. Palmer also says that if the *Stonewall* were to run into the *Niagara* in the bay, of which Commodore Craven is not without apprehension, she would sink the frigate in two minutes, or if she were to fire one of her three-hundred-pound shots into her, the result would be nearly as fatal. Either of these contingencies he seemed to think the *Stonewall* might possibly be desperate enough to attempt, and trust to our example in the port of Bahia for her justification in the eyes of the world.

Craven keeps his steam up, and his cable ready to slip at any moment, so that he cannot be overtaken by anything but the shot of the *Stonewall* in the harbor.

The *Sacramento* has reached Ferrol, and in an open and rolling sea. I understand that Craven feels no anxiety about the result of a combat, though it is apparent from his letter that he is hoping anxiously to be re-enforced by a monitor.

I cannot hear of Page in Paris, though Mr. Palmer informs me that he tracked him one day in his advance from Spain at every station into France, and I have no doubt he is now here; I heard that a gentleman of my acquaintance had seen him here. I thought my authority for believing him here sufficient for addressing enclosure No. 2 to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 27th instant. It occurred to me that it could do no harm to have the government assign as a reason for not proceeding against Page, that they did not know his address, for that would imply that they had no other reason. If, on the other hand, they had other reasons, I

was equally certain that it could do no harm to know what they might be.

A private note from Mr. Perry, which accompanied his despatches for you, sent here for my perusal, and which I forward by this mail, mentions that a *commission rogatoire* has been issued by the French government to take testimony in Spain in regard to the escape of the *Stonewall.* From this he infers, correctly no doubt, that this government is more active in the matter than it is disposed to admit to us.

Mr. Palmer returned to Ferrol by last evening's train, bearing enclosure No. 3 to Commodore Craven, and this was intended as a private note, but I find, upon reflection, that it deserves to enter into the official record of my proceedings in this case.

As Mr. Palmer's mission to Paris, if known, might cost him his place and perhaps his liberty, it is important that his name should not transpire.

I am, sir, etc.

THOMAS J. CRAVEN TO BIGELOW

United States Ship Niagara,
Ferrol, February 20, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 13th instant I have just received. As I have already informed you by telegrams, I arrived at Corunna on the morning of the 11th instant, and there learned that the rebel ram *Stonewall,* Captain Thomas J. Page, had put into that port on or about the 2d instant, in a leaky condition; and after remaining there three days went to Ferrol for repairs, and that she would be ready for sea on or about the 14th instant. On the evening of the 15th I came here and was informed on the following morning by the military and civil governors of the place that the *Stonewall* had been reported as being ready for sea, but her commander had not appointed a day for sailing. On the morning of the 17th our consular agent came on board, and in great glee informed me that the governor had called upon him, and said that Captain Page had asked if there would be any objection on the part of the

Spanish government to his absenting himself for a few days for the purpose of visiting Paris; that his vessel still leaked badly, and he wished to confer with the Confederate commissioners in relation to selling the *Stonewall,* or compelling the contractors to take her back, as she did not come up to contract and was not seaworthy. On the evening of the 17th, Page took passage in a Spanish war-steamer for Corunna, *en route* for Madrid and Paris. On the evening of the 18th, our consular agent for Corunna came on board and informed me that Page had given out to the people at Corunna that his repairs were all completed, and that he was going to Paris for the purpose of purchasing another vessel.

When I arrived at this port, there was lying lashed to the port side of the ram a Spanish government hulk, in which were deposited her stores, ammunition, &c., and for the first two days after our arrival I noticed that their deck-pumps were frequently used, but for the last two or three days these symptoms of leakage have disappeared. The Spanish corvette (hulk) was hauled off from her side yesterday morning, and to-day she is taking in coal and appears otherwise ready to sail at any moment. I am inclined to suspect all reports relative to the continuance of her leak as being "humbug," or, in other words, she is "playing possum."

She is a very formidable vessel, being completely cased with five-inch plates of iron. Under her top-gallant forecastle is her casemated 300-pounder Armstrong gun. On her quarter-deck in a turret are two other rifled guns, 100 or 120 pounders; besides these she has two smaller guns in broadside.

If she is as fast as reputed to be in smooth water, she would be more than a match for three such ships as the *Niagara.* So, sir, you will readily perceive I am placed in a most unenviable predicament, and that our only chance for cutting short her career rests upon the possibility of detaining her here until such time as our government sees fit to send out the necessary re-enforcements.

In regard to the refusal of the French government to intervene in this matter, on the ground that the ram was a Danish vessel, &c., &c., it appears to me that the plea is a *forced* one. The vessel never was owned by the Danish government, and M. Arman had never completed the sale of her to any other party; and so far as the fitting of her out and supplying her

with arms, ammunition and a crew, it was done in *French waters,* in a French port or roadstead—just as much in violation of neutral rights as if it had been done in the harbor of Cherbourg or of Brest.

If she had been run down or captured by one of our vessels at the Isle of Houat, the French would not be long in discovering that we had committed a breach of neutrality in their port and a gross outrage upon their flag.

As for the report of the *Iroquois* having been seen in Quiberon bay, I am inclined to believe it false, and grew out of the fact that another one of these vessels built for the rebels at Nantes, and afterwards sent to Denmark, was about Belle-Isle at that time, and sailed thence under the Confederate flag.

On account of the tardiness of the mails, I purpose sending this despatch by a special messenger.

I am, my dear sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 27, 1865.

Sir:

I am informed that Thomas J. Page, the captain of the Confederate steamer *Stonewall,* is now in Paris.

Your Excellency is doubtless aware that Captain Page was on board of the *Stonewall* when, under the name of *Stoerkodder,* she left Copenhagen, and that he superintended her partial equipment for the Confederate service, in the bay of Quiberon, the last week of January last, and that he was in command of her when she sailed from Quiberon bay to the port of Ferrol, in Spain, where she now lies.

By his part in that proceeding, I am advised that Captain Page was guilty of a gross violation of the laws of France, and incurred the penalties of fine and imprisonment.

I hasten to bring the fact of his presence in Paris to the notice of your Excellency, that such steps as are proper may be taken by the imperial government for the punishment of a crime which was not only an abuse of the hospitality of France, but a deliberate outrage upon a friendly power.

I avail myself of this occasion, etc.

BIGELOW TO COMMODORE CRAVEN

United States Legation,
Paris. February 27, 1865.

Dear Commodore:

I received your despatch by private messenger yesterday morning. I hope, and incline to believe, that your apprehensions in regard to the *Stonewall* are unfounded, though the risks are sufficient to justify every precaution. I think the French government has signified to the Spanish government as decided a wish for the detention of the *Stonewall* as could be reconcilable with its theory of irresponsibility for her movements. It insists, moreover, that the *Stonewall* was a Danish vessel, which, it is true, abused the hospitality of French waters, but escaped before her presence was recognized by the official authority. I have as yet no official evidence which authorizes me to dispute the allegation that the *Stonewall* was actually a Danish vessel when she entered Quiberon bay, though I am daily expecting the Danish view of the case from our minister at Copenhagen. I have not neglected to present to this government every view of the case which seemed likely to dispose it to assist in detaining the *Stonewall,* and have insisted with as much pertinacity as I thought became my position upon their concurrence with the Spanish government and our own to this end. That steps have been taken to punish some of the parties engaged in equipping the *Stonewall* and conniving at her escape there is no doubt. To what stage these efforts will be carried time will determine.

In regard to your own position I hardly feel competent to advise you. If you have reason to apprehend any danger to your vessel from the *Stonewall* in the harbor, you have but one of two courses to pursue—either you must go out into the open sea where you may encounter your enemy on fair terms, or you must take steps to deprive her of the means of injuring you. What those means should be you alone are competent to judge. Captain Page has certainly made very public the statement that his ship was in a very distressed condition when it entered Ferrol, and is unable to cross the ocean. A letter from one of the officers has reached Paris of the same tenor. Whether these statements are made to mislead, or are

genuine, you can best judge. I would counsel extreme prudence in all your relations with the Spanish authorities. The United States cannot afford to establish a precedent which it would not be willing to accept as a rule. The position of our affairs at home is not so desperate as to afford us any justification for irregular or lawless warfare, even if justifiable under different circumstances. An act of lawless violence perpetrated upon your vessel by the *Stonewall* in a port of Spain would probably do your country and its cause more good, and the Confederates more damage, than the *Niagara* ever has or can hope to accomplish in any other way.

But it does not become me to repeat such commonplaces to an officer of your experience and reputation. I hope most sincerely that you may pass through your present, as through your past difficulties, with success, as I am sure you will pass through them with honor. I shall await anxiously for news from you and from your gallant companions. I only regret that I have nothing more definite and satisfactory to offer you in the way of counsel.

I am, however, very sincerely yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 3, 1865.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos. 39 to 42, inclusive. I received yesterday from Mr. Dudley, our consul at Liverpool, a letter informing me that that portion of the crew of the Confederate cruiser *Florida* which was liberated at Boston were paid off at Liverpool on the 20th of February last, and to each was given leave of absence till the 10th instant, when they were to report for duty on board of the *Rappahannock,* at Calais. I immediately wrote enclosure No. 1 to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and at an interview which I had with his excellency in the afternoon placed it in his hands. His excellency read it, expressed dissatisfaction with the alleged conduct of the vessel, and said it should be looked into at once.

I remarked that I did not suppose I could say anything that would make the duty of the government in reference to this abuse of the hospitality of France more clear, and then I went on to other business. In the course of my conversation upon other topics I had occasion to refer again to this vessel, as you will see in despatch No. 42, when he said, "I shall send a copy of your letter to the Minister of Marine at once," intimating at the same time his decided disapproval of the use made of the *Rappahannock,* and his determination to have it stopped.

His excellency then stated in confidence that the case of the *Rappahannock* was submitted to a commission of three of the most eminent jurisconsults in France, M. Troplong, President of the Senate, being one of them, to determine whether she had violated or was violating any of the laws of France in taking refuge as she did in the port of Calais, and completing her equipment there. They decided that she had not. M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he was of a contrary opinion, and pressed his views so earnestly that the Minister of Marine seemed to have been more impressed by them, "for you see," he added, "that the *Rappahannock* is still at Calais."

I have written to our consular agent at Calais to keep me fully advised of everything that may occur on board the *Rappahannock,* especially between this and the 10th instant.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 2, 1865.

Sir:

I am informed by our consul at Liverpool that the men captured from the steamer *Florida,* formerly in the service of the insurgent States of America, when liberated at Boston, came to Liverpool, where they were landed on the 16th of February last, and were paid off by Lieutenant Morris, late commander of the *Florida,* at the office of Fraser, Trenholm & Co., on the 20th following. At the time of their payment Lieutenant Morris gave to each man a certificate, of which the following is a copy, except the names:

"Liverpool, February 20, 1865.

"Peter Mott, seaman, has leave of absence until the 10th day of March, 1865, on which day he will report on board the Confederate steamer *Rappahannock* for duty.

"C. M. Morris, *Lieutenant Commander.*"

This report corresponds with information which has reached me from other consular officers to the effect that the *Rappahannock,* now lying at Calais, is used as a receiving ship for the insurgents.

I presume that I have only to direct your Excellency's attention to this abuse of the hospitality of France to have it stopped. I take it for granted that the enemies of the United States will not be permitted "to rendezvous" on the soil or in the waters of the empire. Permit me to invite your Excellency's attention specially to the fact that the seamen of the *Florida* are to report for duty to the so-called Confederate government on the 10th instant, and to express the hope that the imperial government will not only make an example of these offenders against the laws of France and the violation of her hospitality, but will also take measures to prevent a repetition of the offences.

I avail myself of this occasion, etc.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

Paris, March 3, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I was selfish enough to hope you would accept Mr. Fessenden's place, which I wanted you to take at the commencement of Mr. Lincoln's administration; but as your friend I am glad you declined it. The country is not yet ready to enter upon a systematic reform and reorganization of our financial policy, and until then woe is the man who, like Judas, carries the bag

for Uncle Sam. If a ram can be caught in a thicket who will answer as well for the sacrifice, I rejoice that the Isaac of our affections and expectations is spared to us. I can conceive of no public position in the United States less desirable for a conscientious patriot or even for a man of honorable ambition. This fact makes me more anxious about the selection that will be made, for our credit for the next six months will be of the utmost importance to us, and to preserve it will require great judgment and tact. I think the French policy in Mexico is on the eve of an important change. I will inform you—but you must not know the fact until you learn it from some other quarter—that Montholon, the French minister in Mexico, has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Washington. The commission has just been signed, I learned yesterday from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This transfer of Montholon from the position of an ambassador to an empire, to the court of a republic, as a promotion, is significant of something. Maximilian is likely to leave next, if all the reports that reach me are true. Mr. Seward will be the only one besides yourself in Washington that will know of Montholon's appointment. Mr. M. was formerly Consul-General in New York, and was, I believe, much esteemed, though greatly addicted to secession associations, as was natural in his day. You see that consuls under the French government are growing timber. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I learned recently, commenced his career in the consular service. I hope you will fill this place as soon as possible after the 4th of March. I do not wish to stay here as Chargé. It is a false position for a representative of the United States. Yesterday, after waiting two hours for my turn to be received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I had to await the retirement of the Minister Resident of Hayti (he is, by the way, a very good-natured and well-disposed colored man), who had arrived at the ministry some time after me. And if a minister is to be appointed at all in my place, I beg that he may be sent forward in time to give me an opportunity of spending my summer at the "Squirrels."

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 3, 1865.

Sir:

I availed myself yesterday of a favorable opportunity to present to M. Drouyn de Lhuys the subject of your despatch No. 28. I began by saying that some time since, in the summer or fall of last year, Mr. Benjamin, the secretary of state of the insurgent States of America, addressed to the principal powers of Europe, and notably to France and England, some new dogmas in regard to the rights of neutrals which were adapted to the exceptional situation of the insurgent government. One of these dogmas contemplated the case of the capture of an enemy's vessel laden in whole or in part with neutral cargo (No. 2); a second contemplated the case of the capture of a neutral vessel laden in whole or in part with enemy's cargo; and a third case contemplated the capture of a vessel suspected of belonging to the enemy and sailing with false papers under a neutral flag. "In all these cases it is proposed by the insurgent government," I remarked, "to treat the quarter-deck of their cruisers as a port, and the captain's will or caprice as a competent tribunal for the adjudication of prizes." "These dogmas," I continued, "have been pressed upon the attention of the great maritime powers of western Europe, and I am instructed to inquire of your Excellency what view the Emperor's government took of them, and what reply was given to those who submitted them."

M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied, "that he remembered to have received a communication answering generally to the description I had given, though he could not remember the details; he remembered distinctly that he declined the proposals and never made any answer whatever to the communication."

I said that his answer did not surprise me, but that I thought it just to inform him that the representative of the insurgent organization in Paris had conveyed a very different impression to Mr. Benjamin; that Mr. Slidell had, in fact, represented his excellency as favorable to the new dogmas and disposed to intercede in their favor with the British ambassador at Paris.

His excellency then went on to say that "he had submitted the paper to two of his colleagues, who were entitled to be consulted upon such subjects, and they decided that they could not entertain such doctrines; that he might have asked what the English government proposed to do upon the subject, though he did not remember to have done so, and thinks he did not, but he might have done so. He felt quite sure he had not written anything on the subject, for he had never treated the representative of the Confederate States in a way that would admit of any official correspondence with him." Whether this remark was general or limited to this particular subject, I will not be sure.

I said, "No, it is not pretended that your Excellency wrote anything upon the subject. Though Mr. Slidell is said to have communicated to Mr. Benjamin a letter written in French by 'a friend,' as he styled him, 'in the ministry of foreign affairs,' my information is not sufficiently authentic." I added parenthetically, to justify me in naming the person probably referred to, "in that letter your Excellency is represented as favorable to the new dogmas, and disposed to confer about them with Lord Cowley, whom you were expecting to meet at Compiègne."

His excellency then repeated substantially what he had said before, but a little more cautiously, and without any intimation that "the friend" in the Foreign Office had or had not committed any offence in writing what he did. The impression that I received was that the Confederate agents, for reasons which may be susceptible of different interpretations, were permitted to suppose that their proposals were entertained not unfavorably.

I expressed my satisfaction with what he had said to me, and which I should have pleasure in communicating to my government. I then went on to say that this was a subject which interested us only indirectly, as the insurgents were our enemies, but we, of course, could not be indifferent to any new doctrine of neutral rights which the two great maritime powers of western Europe might be disposed to entertain. Though I had executed my instructions in addressing to his excellency the questions to which he had so satisfactorily responded, I hoped that he would allow me to make a suggestion which seemed worthy of the attention of his government.

Without vexing the question of belligerent rights originally accorded to the insurgent States, I submitted to him whether vessels built and equipped notoriously in violation not only of international law, but of the municipal laws of the country from whence they took their departure—for, I added, the insurgents have not a single vessel afloat which was not built and equipped in violation of the municipal laws of France or England—were entitled to the belligerent privileges which both these countries were in the habit of according to them. He interrupted me here to say, "There seems to be great justice and strength in the point you take."

I went on to say, "There is the *Rappahannock,* now lying at Calais" (about which we had already had some conversation, referred to in another despatch of this date); "she was taken out of England in violation of the laws of that country, and not a day has elapsed since her arrival in Calais that she has not transgressed the laws of France." "I cannot see," said I, "why it is not perfectly consistent with the theory of belligerent rights which the Emperor adopted at the commencement of the war to withhold the privileges of belligerents from parties who respect neither your laws nor the best-established principles of the law of nations."

His excellency listened to this with profound attention, by frequent inclination of his head assenting apparently to everything I said, and then remarked that he should send a copy of my letter, in relation to the use of the *Rappahannock* as a receiving-ship, to the Minister of Marine, and he would have that stopped.

He seemed impressed with the suggestion I had made, and which he was evidently willing that I should think that he approved of. I told him if the imperial government could only see its way to give of its own motion to our government some such practical evidence of its friendly dispositions as I had suggested—for I said I had no authority to ask anything of the kind, and to grant it upon a formal application would strip it of half its value—I begged to assure him that it would exert a most desirable influence upon both sides of the Atlantic. His excellency then went on to reassure me of the friendly dispositions of the government, and of his determination to do everything he could to cultivate a perfect understanding with us, &c.

There was something in his manner, if not in his words, and in the whole tone of his conversation, of which I have given but a very brief abstract, that gave me the impression that the policy of his government towards the United States had recently undergone, or was about to undergo, a substantial change, provided nothing new occurred on our side to disturb the present tendency of events.

As I was about leaving, his excellency mentioned that the Marquis de Châteaurenard had been prevented by illness in his family from going to the United States to replace M. Mercier, and that the Count de Montholon had been appointed by the Emperor as minister plenipotentiary at Washington. His commission was signed on Tuesday, the 2d instant. M. Montholon was for so many years consul-general of France at New York, where, I believe, he became united to one of our countrywomen by marriage, that it is unnecessary for me to attempt to give you any information in regard to him. As M. Drouyn de Lhuys did not speak of him to me as the present minister of France in Mexico, I did not feel at liberty to inquire why his residence in that country was so brief, or who, if any one, was destined to replace him.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 6, 1865.

Sir:

I am advised that the former crew of the corsair *Florida,* to whom the captain gave an order to rendezvous on board of the *Rappahannock,* at Calais, on or before the 10th instant, as stated in the communication I had the honor to place in your Excellency's hands on the 2d instant, are to be taken from Calais to the rebel steamer *Stonewall,* now lying at Ferrol.

I hasten to bring this information to your Excellency's knowledge, that the parties who may be concerned in the perpetration of this crime against the laws of France may receive speedy and condign punishment.

I beg your Excellency will accept the assurances, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 6, 1865.

Sir:

I send you some journals by this mail which may be worth your looking over; among others, the last number of the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* which is understood to be under the special inspiration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

You will find, on page 157, confirmation of what I sent you by last mail about Commissioners sent from Mexico to negotiate a *concordat* with the Pope.

A translation of a part of this article is enclosed. You will not fail to remark that the Commission is charged to treat directly with the Pope and that Maximilian has sent Velasquez, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, as president of the Commission.

The promulgation in Mexico of a decree from Maximilian imposing restrictions upon the publication of papal bulls, &c., simultaneously with the departure of this Commission, leads me to suspect that the tone to be taken by the Commissioners when they reach Rome will be quite as decided as represented in my private note of the 3d instant.

You will observe, by a paragraph on page 158 of the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* that the government has found it convenient to attribute the delay of our government, in naming a minister to this court in place of the late Mr. Dayton, to another motive than a disposition on the part of the President to resent the long vacancy in the French mission at Washington, to which the delay is generally ascribed. It is one of many signs, becoming daily more common, that public opinion here begins to require of the government a conciliatory manner towards the United States.

The reply of the Corps Législatif to the Address will be submitted, I am told, about the 20th. The different parties are already preparing their amendments. Among them I hope to find one congratulating us upon the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery. We are looking about for some one to move it whose relations with the Gov-

A.D. 1832 — Maximilian — A.D. 1867

Louis Napoleon's Emperor of Mexico

ernment are such as to give such an amendment some chance of success.

There will probably be an amendment about Mexico from the Republicans, but the terms and tone of that it will be more difficult to agree upon. Whatever it is, it may produce a heated debate, but will have no chance of passing.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

FROM THE *MÉMORIAL DIPLOMATIQUE* OF MARCH 5, 1865

Translation

Our correspondent from Mexico, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Holy Father and justified by the constant usage of the Roman court, says that negotiations for the definitive arrangement of the ecclesiastical question in Mexico are about to be concentrated at Rome.

With this view His Mexican Majesty has charged a special mission to go and treat directly with His Holiness, and as it was of importance to invest with this mission, as full of sharp points as it is delicate, men calculated to inspire a just confidence at the Holy See, the Emperor Maximilian has designated his Minister of State, M. Velasquez de Leon, as President of the Commission and 1st Plenipotentiary of Mexico. M. Velasquez de Leon is very favorably known at Rome for his devotion to the Church. He will be aided by two Councillors of State charged more particularly to arrange the details of the execution of the Concordat to be entered into between Rome and Mexico.

M. Velasquez de Leon and the two Councillors of State who accompany him were to embark upon the French packet-boat which is expected about the 15th March at St. Nazaire.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I received yesterday your three dispatches of the 14th of February, and your private note of the same date. The

Canada's mails reached Halifax on the 3rd, and are due here to-day or at farthest to-morrow. I cannot wisely answer your dispatches until I shall be possessed of the *Canada's* dispatches. But the return mail must be made up to-morrow. It is therefore not unlikely that I shall hold myself reticent until the succeeding steamer.

I note briefly a few points. The Senate is in extraordinary session. The French Mission will be filled before the Senate adjourns. I do not yet know how.

2ndly. The Minister of Foreign Affairs knows all about the French tobacco at Richmond, and our position is satisfactory to him. But Richmond just now is likely to undergo a change of condition that may affect tobacco as well as other important things there.

3rd. Congress has adjourned, and the policy of this government in regard to Mexico, as hitherto made known by the President, remains unchanged. It rests with France to decide whether this is satisfactory. If we have war with her it must be a war of her making, either against our ships or upon our territory. We shall defend ourselves if assailed on our own ground. We shall attack nobody elsewhere. All conjecture and collateral questions arising out of the war are left by us to the arbitrament of reason under the mutations of time. Our people and legislative tribunes will not say this now, and they cannot be expected to say it under the insults and irritations of the European press and of hostile policies in European cabinets. But the nation will nevertheless support the President in the policy I have defined. Favor and liberality to the United States in Europe will relieve the situation. The inauguration was the most majestic and enthusiastic ever seen. We have good reports from Sherman and are hopeful of events all around.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 6, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 10th ultimo, No. 27, relative to the effects produced by the reading of the encyclical letter of the Pope by certain bishops of France to their congregations, in

defiance of the warning issued by the imperial government, has been received. I consider it a very interesting paper upon an important question in the domestic politics of France.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 7, 1865.

Sir:

The *Moniteur* of this morning contains an official announcement of the appointment of the Marquis de Montholon as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of France at Washington.

The same decree appoints M. Dano, Secretary of the Embassy of the first class, Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico in place of M. the Marquis de Montholon, transferred to Washington.

The Marquis de Montholon's sympathies are understood here to have been entirely with the South in the pending rebellion, before he left for Mexico.

This is attributed partly to the influence of a Virginian wife; partly to the inability which all foreigners experience, of comprehending how much more difficult it would be for the United States to live separately in peace than together; and partly from a justifiable desire to execute the wishes of his government.

It will be strange if what has occurred in Mexico and in the United States shall not have in some degree modified his opinions.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

W. H. RUSSELL TO BIGELOW

March 8, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I do not know what grounds Delane has for it, but he is quite sure Uncle Samuel is about to finish off the dreadful civil war by another war with us scarcely less horrible. You know per-

haps that, as I from the first maintained the North must win, I was tabooed from dealing with American questions in the *Times* even after my return to England, but *en revanche* I have had my say in the *Army and Navy Gazette,* which I have bought, every week, and if one could be weak and wicked enough to seek for a morbid gratification amid such ruins and blood, I might be proud of the persistence with which I maintained my opinions against adverse and unanimous sentiment. As Lord Lyons said to me last night, "You and I were almost the only Federals in England when last we met." Now I am afraid if there be any animus of the kind Delane apprehends across the water, Bruce is not the man to deal with it as Lyons would, for tho' the latter would not set the Thames on fire, he certainly would do his best to prevent the Atlantic reddening with blood. For myself, I believe, as I hope, Delane's informants are wrong, but some one has told him Sherman declared he would not be satisfied till he pitched his tent in Hyde Park and encamped his army there. You see he does not expect to have a very large force. I am quite sure if any demands are made on our Govt. whatever they will be refused *coûte que coûte,* as the popular—or rather the powerful—feeling is very strong against concession of any sort. But why should a man engaged in putting out a fire in his house set fire to his stables? You have nearly extinguished the conflagration, but the smoulder may go on for a long time yet, and sudden spurts may occasionally revive the hopes of the disaffected. I long to have a line from you, and to hear you are all well.

Give my best regards and my love, if you will make it a part of my wife's and Alice's, to dear Mrs. Bigelow, and my affectionate remembrances to your daughter, and believe me,

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private

Paris, March 9, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I sent to you by Wednesday steamer from Havre two copies of "La Vie de César," which has been for the past week the

theme of every tongue and of every journal pretty much in Europe. One of them I will thank you to present to the President, and the other I hope you will do me the honor to accept for yourself.

The work possesses sufficient literary merit to have made it a great success, but the preface brought it still-born into the world. In that paper, which was published in the journals a few days in advance, the Emperor shows that the real motive of his work was to prove that great men are rather causes than results; that their crimes, even, are in a measure providential and justified by success; that the people who commit their destinies most unreservedly to the hero of their epoch, if they can find out who he is, will accomplish the grandest results; and, finally, what Cæsar and Octavius were to the age in which they lived, Napoleon I. and his illustrious nephew, the author, are to theirs.

It is a very insidious and a very deliberate assault upon the principle of popular sovereignty. I am mistaken if the Emperor is not soon forced to realize what a wiser sovereign than himself meant by saying, "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!" for he has furnished the press with an opportunity of saying precisely what it pleases of Bonapartism under the pretext of expressing its opinion of Cæsar. The metropolitan journals, with the alert instinct of hate, have begun to avail themselves of this new instrument of torture.

You will find in the *Gazette de France,* organ of the legitimists, a letter which will show how their venom is secreted. St. Louis and Washington are presented as models of what a royal statesman should be, while Cæsar is presented as the type of what a royal statesman should not be. The writer concludes as follows:

"In any case, the work of St. Louis and of Washington may boast of more glory and greater durability than that of Pompey's rival. After St. Louis the long and national series of French kings; after Washington the great American republic which we see making such valiant efforts to remain the United States. This is worth, is it not, the twelve Cæsars told of by Suetonius, of whom, to his eternal condemnation, Julius Cæsar opened the list."

The prominence which the talent and commanding position of the author will necessarily give to the theorem of his book

renders its publication, to my mind, an event of no ordinary importance. It will force an investigation into the legitimate foundations of government and the principles upon which society can be most happily organized, under circumstances on the whole perhaps never so favorable for the establishment of the truth.

The result (we Republicans are bound to presume) must be a reaction against dynastic rule of all kinds, and in favor of the principles founded in reason and justice, that governments should be maintained for the good of the governed and that every nation is a great deal wiser than any one man in it.

The Duc de Morny is very sick, and I should not be surprised if the steamer which takes this letter carried to you the news of his death. His physician sent word to a friend of mine this afternoon that he could not leave the Duke's bedside in consequence of the gravity of his condition. His death would be probably one of the most serious losses the Emperor could sustain. He has no other friend at once so capable and so faithful. *We also should lose a valuable friend.*[1] His faith in and friendship for us was the subject of a brief but interesting conversation between him and myself only the day before he was confined to his house, and he seemed to take pride in saying that he had always, and not without a certain success, defended our cause. He has two weaknesses which usually belong to the opposite extremities of life, a fondness for women and for acquiring money. The first has impaired his health, and the other his influence. He is nevertheless very popular and as much esteemed as any friend of the Emperor in France.

I heard last evening that the Emperor had said that the honor of France was engaged in the support of Maximilian and that orders had been given to send General Bazaine eight regiments of picked troops from Algiers immediately. This news is partially confirmed by the Paris correspondent of the *London Post* of March 9. The news will have a prodigious effect upon the Chambers if it proves to be true, and I have no doubt that it is substantially.

It is generally conceded here now on all sides that the United States are to retain their territorial integrity, and that President Davis has no good treasonable pretext, if there be such a thing, to continue the war. But there is great anxiety about the consequences of a peace. One of the deputies told me

[1] I believed that when I wrote it, but I am far from saying as much now.

this morning of a conversation between some of his colleagues which he overheard, in which one said, "Only a week ago we had news that promised an early peace in America. I trembled, for heaven knows what we should do if peace were to be suddenly declared. God grant it [the war] may be yet a little prolonged." This is the financio-political view generally taken of the situation here. Another symptom of European feeling which may interest you, in connection with a recent article in the *London Times* about designs upon Canada after the peace, may be found in the enclosed note from William H. Russell, which I received yesterday. I will thank you to return it to me after reading it.

March 10th. I presume the Duc de Morny is dead. The papers this morning say nothing of his health. He took the last Sacrament yesterday afternoon, and about 11 o'clock last evening I was told by Count Flamerens, who is a senator and one of the Imperial household, that he was dying; that the Emperor was with him and that he was no doubt then already dead. The count seemed to think his death would lead to important changes in the Imperial policy. I think he referred to the equilibrating influence he had been in the habit of exerting on the Italian, Polish, and ecclesiastical questions in opposition to Prince Napoleon.

The Duc de Morny died this morning at 8 o'clock.

The Secretary of the Mexican Legation, who is, by the way, son-in-law of the Minister of the Argentine Republic at this court, told me, night before last, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that his government was very anxious indeed to establish good relations with us; that they had done everything they could to please us; that they looked upon the Confederates as the ancient enemies of Mexico, etc., etc. I encouraged him to talk as much as he would, and then said, in reply to the earnest desire and necessity, in fact, of being recognized by us, that we did not see with what face he, that is, France, could ask us to go out of our way to make things comfortable for her in Mexico, when she went so much out of her way to make things uncomfortable for us in the United States; that as long as France persisted in seeing two military powers in the United States she would probably see two in Mexico, etc.

I am interrupted.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 9, 1865.

Sir:

On the 16th day of July last the United States steamer *Ark,* belonging to John Bachino, a citizen of the United States, and commanded by Captain A. Williamson, was cleared from the port of New Orleans for the port of Matamoras, in Mexico.

When about twelve miles above Bagdad, on the Rio Grande, in consequence of an accident to her machinery, she grounded within a few yards of the Mexican shore. While in this position, and in Mexican waters, she was seized, on the 7th of August, by insurgent enemies of the United States from Texas, taken to Brownsville, condemned with her cargo as lawful prize, and sold at auction to some Mexican citizens.

The constant abuse of the rights of neutrals by persons trading with the port of Matamoras throughout the present war, and the open intercourse and unfeigned good understanding between inhabitants of that port and enemies of the United States in Texas, have materially prolonged the war itself, and have provoked, if not the seizure, at least the blockade of Matamoras as a measure of self-protection.

In view of all these facts, I am instructed to express to your Excellency the desire of my government that neutrality may be regularly enforced by the French troops in occupation of Matamoras, and thus a source of embarrassment may be removed which seems to be quite unnecessary.

I have the honor to renew to your Excellency, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 10, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 17th of February, No. 36, which gives me the

information you have been able to acquire concerning the insurgent proceedings to enlist Polish subjects of Russia.

It is a pitiable result of the loss of national life that any of the children of Poland should, under influences of whatever form of demoralization, be disposed to pass into the military ranks of the army of disunion and slavery in the United States. Happily, the waning fortunes of the rebels seem likely to render the acceptance of such persons to the insurgent forces practically impossible, and so to prevent their incurring a disgrace to which we can only lament that they have so blindly consented.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 10, 1865.

Sir:

The illness of the Duc de Morny, which only began yesterday to awaken serious alarm, terminated in death this morning at 8 o'clock.

It would be difficult to name another subject in whose death the Empire of France would have sustained, humanly speaking, a greater loss. The late Duke's fortunes, past and future, were so completely identified with those of the Imperial régime as to render his relations with the Emperor peculiarly confidential, while his courage, tact and practical sense gave to his counsels very great weight, and to his coöperation, especially in the Corps Législatif, of which he was President, incalculable value.

As to the effect of his death upon public affairs it would be premature for me to speculate, but it is safe to assume that the representatives of a European policy on which he was the principal check will gain courage, if not strength, from his decease. No one pretends that there is any one in France competent fully to replace him in the councils of the Empire. Some notion of the vacancy he will leave may be formed from the fact, just brought to my knowledge, that the stock of a com-

pany in which he was largely concerned fell twenty per cent. this morning when the news of his death transpired.

In the Duc de Morny's death the United States loses, I am told, a steadfast and useful friend. Only the day before he was confined to his house by his last illness he spoke to me of the constancy with which he had opposed any policy on the part of France which contemplated a division of the United States, and expressed the most unequivocal contempt for the pretexts upon which the rebels had sought to justify their conduct. From the assurances he gave me on leaving, I had counted not a little upon his assistance in the discharge of my official duties near this Court.

I am, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 10, 1865.

Sir:

In consequence of a paragraph which I noticed in the Paris correspondence of a London journal, I asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday whether he had any information of a circular issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Archduke Maximilian to the maritime prefects of Mexico, in reference to consuls acting irregularly and without exequaturs from the imperial government, provoked, as was stated, by two recent appointments made by the government of the United States. His excellency replies that he had not heard of anything of the kind, but, if I desired, he would procure me a copy, if any had been issued. I said that as the circular purported, according to the newspaper reports, to have been provoked by the action of my government, I presumed it would interest them to know what it was, and said I would thank him to procure me a copy if he could conveniently. His excellency took a memorandum of my request, and said it should not be neglected.

This morning I received the first copy of a new journal, entitled the *Epoque,* established and conducted by M. Ernest Feydeau, in which the circular in question is given at length.

Though I presume a copy has already reached you, there is a chance that it has not; I therefore enclose a translation, with the editorial paragraph which followed it.

In this connexion, I invite your attention to an article in the *Constitutionnel* of the 7th instant, signed Boniface, relating to the reciprocal relations of France, Mexico, and the United States, which is chiefly deserving of attention for the paragraph with which it closes, and which may be translated as follows:

"The work which France has undertaken in Mexico, *and which she will not leave unfinished,* moves, then, towards a happy and rapid accomplishment."

This article appeared nearly simultaneously, I am told, upon what I deem credible authority, with the declaration of the Emperor to his council that the honor of France was involved in the support of the new empire in Mexico. This declaration was followed by the issue of orders for the transport of 8,000 men—that is, eight regiments from Algeria —to the support of General Bazaine, who, as I have already advised you, lacks confidence in the mercenaries with whom the Emperor has attempted to replace the French soldiers in the archduke's service. Should this information prove correct, it will give to the approaching debates on the address, in the Corps Législatif, unusual importance.

I am, sir, etc.

[*Translated from l'Epoque, March 9, 1865*]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN MEXICO TO THE POLITICAL PREFECTS OF THE EMPIRE

MEXICO, January 18, 1865.

It has come to the knowledge of this department that there are persons exercising the functions of consular agents in the territory of the empire without having received the usual exequatur either from the government of his Majesty or from that of the old republic, thus contravening established usage and the law governing this matter.

You will be pleased to invite, with all necessary managements, the persons exercising the above functions within your *circonscription* to present to you their brevet or their license. You shall give to under-

stand to such as shall not be able to present such that they must henceforth abstain from the exercise of consular functions.

You shall see that these prescriptions be strictly carried out, and shall give an account to this department of the irregularities you may have discovered, or may discover hereafter, in these matters.

RAMIREZ,
Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The circular derives a particular interest from the recent appointment of a new United States consul at Matamoras, and from the valueless exequatur delivered by Corona to the consular agent of the same country residing at Mazatlan.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 11, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your interesting despatch of the 23d of February, No. 37, and I approve of your proceedings therein mentioned.

I trust that the course of events in this country is such as to warrant you to say, in answer to inquiries about peace, that the end of the war is believed to be at hand, and that it will be attended with the extirpation of slavery and the salvation of the Union.

In regard to apprehension of aggression by the United States on the restoration of peace, you are authorized to say that no such policy is entertained by this government, and that just so far as such apprehensions prevail, by reason of a belief that the national will, under high excitement, may overrule the peaceful purposes of the executive government, each European state has the control of the question in its own hands. A due concession of our national authority over all our territory and all our citizens would disarm all popular animosities against any foreign state.

Friendship tendered to us will, in any case, be reciprocated as it always has been.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO WILLIAM H. RUSSELL

80 Av. de la Grande Armée,
Paris, March 11, 1865.

My dear Friend:

Delane borrows a great deal of trouble, I sometimes think, and he gives through the *Times* quite as much as he borrows. Till I received your note I had not supposed his apprehensions of a war with us serious. Here is the theory I attributed to him. He knows we have a fair pretext for rendering a handsome bill for damages, and this may seem a propitious moment, before we are entirely out of the woods, to provoke some sort of admission from our statesmen and people, if possible, that those claims are only to be collected through war and therefore perhaps not worth pressing.

Mr. D. or those with whom he counsels also know that with peace in the U. S. a large quantity of capital, foreign and domestic, now employed in England, would speedily find its way to the U. S. Any report or apprehension calculated to keep up the popular English view of the insecurity of property or investments in America would have the tendency to check the course of capital in that direction, at least for a season and until you were better prepared for such a movement.

In regard to the depredations of rebel privateers built and equipped in English ports and manned by English sailors, I incline to the opinion that England is more or less responsible to us in damages. But if our people were sure that England ought to indemnify us for all the depredations made upon our commerce by Confederate cruisers, I am sure they would never seek redress through war. The time is past when two such nations as England and France, whose commerce is the breath of their nostrils, should resort to the *Ultima ratio regum* about an unliquidated account. If England can afford to contest the principle of international law upon which we should make the claim if any is to be made, we can as well afford to surrender it to her. The principle of law disposed of, the U. S. cannot afford to present an unreasonable claim, nor can England afford to reject an unreasonable one. But if either should be guilty of such a folly, it would not result in war.

The mutual interests of the two nations would speedily come to the rescue of the injured party and make the bone of contention appear too insignificant to be allowed to chill the relations of the two countries. The sum we should claim at the largest would not be sensibly felt in the budget of either nation, and the Administration of neither would be excused for permitting such a difference to interrupt a commerce that in a week would amply indemnify the loser.

If you keep Canada until we attempt to make prize of her, the shadow of St. George and the dragon in North America is not likely to be sensibly diminished in our generation. I may be permitted to express to you my conviction that you are preparing the way as fast as you can to lose your N. A. possessions by consolidating their power. The confederation which you are disposed to encourage as a defensive measure, will develop a sentiment of national power and national pride together, which will soon become impatient of trans-atlantic control. That is a result, however, which in my opinion you would have no reason to regret, provided it is accomplished without any national humiliation.

But I must close now or lose the mail. So good-by. Imagine what else I might have said to satisfy you that we are not natural fools in America; remember that I was right when I said there would be no war between England and France in 1860–61; believe, if you can, that I was right when I said we should put down the rebellion in the U. S., though I may have miscalculated the time to be consumed in doing it, and above all believe me,

Your very sincere friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, February 14, 1865.

Sir:

I waited upon M. Fould, the Minister of Finance, a few days since, when a conversation ensued part of which seems worth repeating to you. Referring to our relations with France, M. Fould observed rather abruptly that there seemed to be but

one source from which a war could arise between the two countries and that was Mexico. I told him that I took no responsibility in saying that Mexico will not become a primary cause of war between France and the United States. What part it might have as a secondary cause in inflaming public opinion should the primary provocation occur, I could not say.

I told him that the current opinion that we had levied a large army which in case of peace we would not know what to do with, and had conjured a military spirit which we could not lay, were delusions excusable only in people who did not know America nor comprehend the origin and motives of the war waging in the United States; I told him there was not a single soldier in our army who could not make better wages in civil service within a week after his discharge and who would not hail a peace with delight. An army of four or five hundred thousand men taken from the territory of France for a year or two would become a serious incumbrance to the government when their services were no longer needed, because their places in shops and stalls would be speedily filled by a surplus population and they had nothing to fall back upon when the government withdrew its support. With us, on the contrary, the army would disappear as quietly as a fog before the rising sun upon the declaration of peace.

I went on to say that we had had fighting enough; that democracies were essentially selfish, and that they could only make war successfully where the motive operated pretty universally upon the whole population; that it would be fatal to any administration to plunge the country into a war for anything but our national existence (democracies are not apt to consider war the proper remedy for wounds merely to the national pride); that our people never had much interest of any sort in Mexico, and in the war of 1846–7 the administration had the greatest difficulty in getting the means of putting under arms twenty or thirty thousand men, and only succeeded by giving to the people the most unmistakable evidence of its desire to make peace, and of the infatuation of the Mexican rulers.

This is the substance of what I said. M. Fould expressed himself gratified to hear it. Of course I should not have followed his lead so far if I had supposed what I said would go no farther, but I am so persuaded that the half of our trouble

both from France and England, now, comes from the apprehension that we are destined to be dangerous neighbors to them when our domestic troubles are disposed of, that I thought I could not do better than profit by so desirable an opportunity of suggesting some reflections calculated to disarm those apprehensions.

Without knowing what your own views may be upon the subject and only judging by my own imperfect lights and at long range, I venture to suggest that if our orators and journalists would make as much effort, in the direction of my remarks to M. Fould, to compose foreign nations as they do to alarm them, the country would gain by it in every way. My theory is that we are to conquer Mexico, but not by the sword. The only hostile act of which we need ever plead guilty will be a refusal to recognize the usurpation-government of Maximilian, which refusal may be withdrawn sooner or later as inducements are presented for one or the other course. Emigration will do the rest faster than the sword and quite as fast as can by any possibility be desirable. There is no country in the world, in my opinion, that can afford to look with such supreme indifference as ours upon European efforts to found an empire in Mexico. They can only succeed upon conditions which would render the spread of our people and institutions in the country impossible. In fact, we have nothing to do now in this world but to set the example of a good popular government. It will be to us like the getting of wisdom to Solomon. All other things shall be added unto us. No other nation can resist the contagion of our example or the attraction of our friendship.

The hopes once entertained by some of the European states that the union would be dissolved have been abandoned; there are some important interests, however, that may be served here by a prolongation of the war. The most important interest of this kind would be extinguished by any satisfactory evidence that our armies would not be compelled to prey upon their neighbors when they ceased to prey upon each other.

Before taking leave of M. Fould he asked me if we were going to let him have his tobacco from Richmond. I told him I knew nothing upon the subject except what I had learned from the newspapers. My companion very opportunely interposed to say that it was the Richmond, not the Federal, government which detained the tobacco. The Minister seemed

not to be entirely sure of that and then asked if M. Drouyn de Lhuys had spoken to me upon the subject. I replied that he had not. "He will then," was the rejoinder.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

This was the first occasion on which I was called upon to take official notice of the Mexican question. It may be convenient to the reader here to note the origin of the occupation of Mexico by European troops in 1862, and the situation in which I found it.

The Spanish-American states shared the fate of all others that have preceded or followed them in struggles to emancipate themselves from personal or dynastic government and to exchange it for popular sovereignty. The people of those countries, having had no experience in self-government, were like children presented for the first time with firearms, about the use and perils of which they knew nothing. As was said, I think, by Macaulay of the French at the commencement of the Revolution of 1789, they had no experience of deliberative bodies and did not know how to take the sense of a meeting, or even how to adjourn it. Such was the condition of the Spanish-American states in 1821, when they threw off the yoke of Yturbide and proclaimed themselves republics. Their history since that time had been, up to 1861 at least, a history of revolution and disorder, not to say official brigandage. Mexico particularly had been almost constantly in an anarchical condition. In the thirty years preceding 1860 she had had between sixty and seventy presidents. When President Miramon fled, Juarez, a native Mexican and Vice-President, by operation of the Constitution became President. Unlike so many of his predecessors, Juarez was a patriot and a faithful public officer, but he found the public treasury empty and foreign creditors clamorous. He could not pay the foreign creditors, but he did the best that he could to secure them. The French, English and Spanish creditors did not think that security sufficient, doubtless aided in arriving at that conclusion by the antislavery dissensions in the United States. The result was a treaty entered into on the 31st of October, 1861, between France and England and Spain, by which they agreed to send a joint expedition to Mexico under the pretence of protecting their coun-

trymen, threatened by a faithless government which could be bound by no treaties.

Their own treaty thus defined the object of the combined expedition:

Article 1 stipulated that sufficient forces should be sent to seize and occupy the forts and military positions on the coast.

Article 2 declared that the three powers should not seek any separate advantage nor exercise any influence on the internal affairs of Mexico of a nature to impair the right of the Mexican nation freely to choose and constitute the form of its government.

The purpose of intervention was implied in the very precautions taken in words to prevent it. Mexico was to be "free to choose and constitute its form of government." But it had freely chosen its form of government and maintained it for nearly fifty years. Under those circumstances, to guarantee to Mexico the right to choose and constitute the form of its government implied a purpose to have a new form of government, if an occasion for one should present itself.

The amount of stock which the parties to this expedition took in it at first was fairly represented by the force they respectively contributed to it. England sent 700 soldiers, under the command of Admiral Dunlop; France 2500, under the command of Admiral Jurien de la Gravière; and Spain sent 6000, under the command of General Prim, Count de Reus, one of the most influential men in Spain, far the most enterprising, and with a confidence in himself which made him imagine no position too high for his ambition. His little army of 6000 men, already organized for him in Cuba, was near enough to the theatre of operations to encourage his hopes of plucking the first-fruits of success. What his hopes were, it is idle to speculate, for they were never permitted even to transpire.

In September, 1861, and before England had given its adherence to the compact of 1861, Thouvenel, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, writing to the Comte de Flahault, then his Ambassador in England, said:

> Is the government for the Latin races possible except under the monarchical form? I do not believe it is, and am assured that all the honest and sensible people in Mexico are of that opinion. The reunion of a congress preceded by an amnesty, such as I have pro-

posed to Earl Russell, might lead to the expression of a wish which we would be quite disposed to support, engaging willingly to decline all candidature of a French prince. I am altogether of your opinion about the reception which the United States would probably give our proposition, and that in my opinion we would only have to regulate our relations with them without awaiting their coöperation. They have at present other cats to whip than the Mexicans, and it seems to me impossible that the question of cotton should not within three months from this time put England and France under the necessity of consulting before all an interest vital to the prosperity and repose of their industrial cities.

In other words, a recognition of the independence of the Confederate insurgents.

On the 25th of October, a little more than a month later, Thouvenel writes to Flahault:

I have strong hopes of an approaching and complete understanding on the subject of Mexico. The Emperor will not renounce an indication in the convention of his will to protect our people everywhere where their security would be threatened. His Majesty will not consent to let the phrase stand by which the high contracting parties *should engage themselves not to employ coercive measures but for the specific end in the preamble.* Obviously a treaty is not concluded but for its precise object, and it would be, in our opinion, rash to bind our hands in case of eventualities which may result from our demonstration.

Three months later, on the 17th of January, 1862, Thouvenel wrote again to Flahault, and after Spain's pretensions in Mexico were scarcely disguised:

The Spaniards appear to exalt themselves a little too much with reminiscences of Ferdinand Cortez. We must maintain the equilibrium. Besides, at the point at which we have arrived it becomes more and more probable that we may have to advance into the interior. We could not content ourselves with playing the rôle of auxiliaries, nor expose ourselves to a check which it would afterwards be necessary to revenge at great expense. . . . We have no private interest in Mexico to satisfy, but if the thing is possible, has not England, like ourselves, a real political interest in preventing this magnificent country's falling under the yoke of the Americans, *united or seceded?* Finally, should the combination, of which the Emperor thinks favorably, with the Archduke Maximilian be realized, would they not felici-

tate themselves with the result in London? I think then that our intentions will not be suspected, and if parliamentary considerations do not permit English ministers to associate themselves with us openly, they will apply to us the doctrine *laissez faire, laissez passer.* We ask nothing more.

Here we meet a pretty distinct allusion to a scheme over which the Emperor was brooding to place a brother of the Emperor of Austria and his heir apparent on the throne of Mexico. For this he had a few, politically speaking, good reasons:

First, to conciliate the Austrian Government, which had been seriously embittered toward France for her coöperation with Victor Emmanuel in driving the Austrians out of Italy;

Second, to conciliate the Church, the greatest obstacle in sight to the perpetuation of the Napoleonic dynasty in France, by arresting the depredations upon church property then making by Juarez to meet the expenses of his Government, and then placing an Austrian prince, a brother of the most Catholic of sovereigns, on a throne in Mexico;

Third, to take advantage of the intestinal troubles of the United States for establishing a dynastic government in Spanish America more or less under the suzerainty of the three leading maritime nations of Europe, and thus introducing a formidable check to the spread of the Anglo-Saxon race among the Latin people of the American continent.

Shortly after taking possession of the port of Vera Cruz, the impending approach of the yellow fever season at that port led the triumvirate expéditionnaires to ask and secure the consent of President Juarez to move the camp of their soldiers to the high ground a few miles from Vera Cruz, pending the negotiations between them and his Government; but the privilege was granted upon the express condition that, in case the negotiations were not successful, the troops should retire to Vera Cruz again before any hostile measures would be undertaken by either. This is known as the treaty of Soledad. When the news of this treaty reached Paris the Emperor was very indignant, immediately recalled Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, in command of the French quota of the expedition, and betrayed in many ways views on Mexico entirely different from those shared by his partners.

When the parties to the expedition came to file their respective accounts against Mexico which the expedition was to enforce, the French claim surprised not only the representatives of England and Spain, but the world, by its enormity. France demanded $12,000,000 for wrongs sustained by French subjects prior to July, 1861, and $15,000,000 more in execution of an unlawful contract made with Miramon, while President, by a Hebrew named Jecker. After the withdrawal of the French armies from Mexico it transpired that Jecker had for a partner in his claim the Emperor's half-brother, the Duc de Morny, at whose instigation, it was alleged, his account had been swollen to double its original dimensions. Juarez denounced, and with ample reason, Jecker's claim as tainted with usury, fraud and treason.[1]

Of course the negotiations with the Government of Juarez and his pillaged treasury, even for the sum claimed by the French alone, without regard to the English and Spanish claims, were bound to prove abortive, and when the unhealthful season passed it became the duty of the allies to retire from Vera Cruz. France, however, under the direction of the French Minister Saligny, refused to go, but signified her intention to march on to the City of Mexico.

This broke up the expedition. Neither the English nor the Spanish representative would consent to break his plighted faith with Juarez. The English and Spanish expéditionnaires withdrew their troops and left the French contingent alone to collect its debt in its own way. That way had undoubtedly been in the imperial mind pretty definitely settled when the expedition was formed: to establish an Austrian prince on the throne of Mexico.

According to the report of the British Minister, Sir Charles Wyke, when the English, French and Spanish detachments left Vera Cruz, as all did, and the Mexican flag was again flown

[1] Odysse Barrot published an article in *La Liberté* about this claim, to which Jecker took offence and challenged the writer. The challenge was accepted. "The fight, with pistols, came off near Brussels. O. B. was struck by Jecker's ball, which bruised his belly and made him faint, but was deadened by a button on O. B.'s raiment and turned from its straight course, so that it lodged in his waistcoat pocket; hence the *mot de la fin:* 'On ne dira plus que M. Jecker vide les poches des Français. Voilà qu'il a mis quelque chose dedans.'" (Extract from letter of William H. Huntington to Bigelow, August 5, 1868.)

over the castle of St. Jean d'Ulloa, as required by the sixth article of the Treaty of Soledad, an American frigate recently arrived in the harbor saluted the restored flag of the Juarez Government. This was an ominous demonstration to the expéditionnaires.

On the 21st of March, 1862, Thouvenel writes again to Flahault:

> Apropos of Mexico, the Emperor is very discontented with the species of capitulation to which the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers have consented, and it resulted at first in nothing less than the recall and public disavowal of Admiral Jurien. The affair is badly begun, but it is no longer possible to stop half-way.

This *débâcle* of the expéditionnaires was precipitated by the arrival of General Lorencez with a body of French troops superior to the Spanish, and, what was perhaps more fatal to the ultimate success of the Emperor's plans in Mexico, the general brought under the protection of the French flag General Almonte, than whom—except perhaps Miramon—he could have brought no man more unpopular in Mexico, whose presence contributed largely to the final dissolution of the compact of 1861.

The French moved on toward Mexico City. At Puebla they sustained a serious discomfiture from the troops of Juarez instead of the welcome promised by Almonte. This led to the embarcation of an army of 23,000 more men from ports of France and Algeria. The commander-in-chief selected to accompany these reinforcements was General Forey, who was invested with plenary powers, as well political as military. He was fortified also with a notable letter from the Emperor which effectively lifted the veil which had, partially at least, concealed from the public, even of France, the real nature of his interest in Mexico. The crucial part of this document may here be cited:

> The end to be obtained is not to impose upon the Mexicans a form of government which should be antipathic to them, but to help them in their efforts to establish, according to their will, a government which would have the chance of stability, and capable of assuring to France a redressment of the wrongs of which she complains. Of course if they prefer a monarch, it is the interest of France to support them

in that preference. There will not be wanting people who will ask you why we spend men and money to found a regular government in Mexico.

In the actual state of civilization in the world, the prosperity of America is not a matter of indifference to Europe, for she gives aliment to our manufactures and life to our commerce. It is for our interest that the republic of the United States should be powerful and prosperous, but it is not for our interest that she should possess herself of the whole Gulf of Mexico and from thence dominate the Antilles and South America and be the sole dispenser of the products of the New World. We see to-day by sad experience how very precarious is the fate of any industry which is compelled to seek its raw material in a single market, to all the vicissitudes of which it is subject.

If, on the contrary, Mexico preserves her independence and maintains the integrity of her territory, if a stable government is constituted with the assistance of France, we shall have rendered to the Latin race on the other side of the ocean its force and its prestige. We shall have guaranteed to our colonies of the Antilles and to those of Spain their security. We shall have established our beneficent influence at the centre of America, and this influence, by creating immense outlets to our commerce, will procure us the material indispensable for our industry.

A Mexico thus regenerated will always be favorable to us, not only from gratitude, but also because her interest will be in accord with our own, and she will find a support in her good relations with European powers.

To-day, then, our military honor engaged, the exigency of our politics, the interests of our industry and of our commerce, all impose upon us the duty of marching on Mexico, and there boldly planting our flag; of there establishing either a monarchy—if it is not incompatible with the national sentiment of the country—or at least a government which promises some stability.

General Forey entered the capital of Mexico on the 10th of June, 1863. As he occupied not an inch of territory but what he had to fight for with an imported army, there could be no serious thought of submitting the question of the future government to popular suffrage. Forey's mode, therefore, of supplying the Mexicans, according to the Emperor's instructions, with a form of government which should not be antipathic to them, was himself to select thirty-five citizens of Mexico to form a junta. This junta was to select three men to constitute the executive power. He naturally selected Almonte,

who as naturally suggested as his colleagues Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, and General Salas; all three were active partisans of the projected dynastic government. After this executive government was formed, the members of the junta proceeded to choose two hundred and fifteen colleagues to constitute an assembly of two hundred and fifty notables who were to be known as a Constituent Assembly.

Forey did not prove a success, and toward the middle of August, barely two months after his reaching the capital of Mexico, the post brought him a great pleasure and a profound mortification. The pleasure was his elevation to the dignity of a Marshal of France; the mortification was an order relieving him of his command in Mexico and a remission of supreme authority to General Bazaine. Forey quitted Mexico reluctantly October 1, 1863. While Forey, however, was glorying in his successful siege and occupation of Mexico City, a great change was coming over the dreams of the Foreign Office in Paris, and Drouyn de Lhuys, who had superseded Thouvenel, called upon Forey to enter into relations, if possible, with one of the Mexican leaders most competent to dominate the factions of the country and thus provoke a national vote in his favor, and to him or to it, abandon the reorganization of the country. This was a wide departure from the imperial conception of a monarchical establishment. Drouyn's instructions, however, reached Mexico too late. Forey already, in conformity with what he rightly believed to be the Emperor's wishes, had convoked the Notables; they had proclaimed the monarchical form for the future government of Mexico, and Maximilian as their choice as sovereign, with the rank and title of Emperor. Bazaine executed the Emperor's orders as he understood them, and with such vigor and rudeness that Juarez kept out of his way, embracing only the not infrequent opportunities of harassing, obstructing and disconcerting the general's plans.

On the 27th of September General Almonte notified Maximilian that three-fourths of the territory and four-fifths of the population of Mexico were waiting to hail him as their sovereign. There was not a word of truth in this statement. But the archduke believed every word of it, and on the 3d of October sent his reply to the Mexican deputation, commencing as follows:

I am profoundly touched with the desire expressed by the Assembly of Notables.

It cannot be otherwise than flattering to our house that the regards of your patriots should have been directed to a descendant of Charles V.

It is a beautiful task, to assure the independence and the prosperity of Mexico under the protection of free and durable institutions. I ought nevertheless to recognize fully my accord in this with the Emperor of the French, whose glorious initiative renders possible the regeneration of Mexico, and that the monarchy in this country cannot be reëstablished on solid and legitimate bases unless the entire nation confirms it by a free manifestation of its will.

On the result of the vote of the entire country, then, I ought first to make the acceptance of the throne offered to depend.

The prince was so intoxicated and delighted with the invitation and the prospect of being an emperor that he was utterly blind to the objections, difficulties, perils of the position into which he was being ensnared. Though he said in his reply that he must have the spontaneous vote of the people of Mexico before he could accept their sovereignty, yet he could not wait for any such expression of popular opinion. On the contrary, he proceeded in his correspondence with Almonte and his associates precisely as if he was already on the throne, and discussed his plans of administration as if he was already responsible for them. Maximilian shared the fate only too common with princes born in the purple. He had never been trained to do anything but what gave him pleasure. He knew nothing of the luxury and divine exaltation of being useful to anybody but himself. He was refined, accomplished, handsome, and in a way educated, but he had never known what it was to bear any responsibility. The consequence was, he was not practical; he was, as Berryer, who had known him well, described him to me once, *un esprit vague*. Such a man, of course, was an easy prey to designing politicians, and was familiarly known among the knowing ones in Paris as the *Arch-Dupe*. He was married to a daughter of the King of Belgium, in many respects a widely different character. The Princess Carlotta was ambitious, fond of luxury and power, and proud of both. The prospect of taking rank among the nations with the Empress-Queen Victoria and the Empress Eugénie blinded her to any differences between their respec-

tive conditions and those to which she was about to expose herself. Both she and her husband were too young and inexperienced to have any idea of imperial majesty but that which they had seen or heard of at Vienna, the Tuileries and St. James. Of course neither of them thought a second time of getting what the prince made the condition of his acceptance of the crown of Mexico—a free manifestation in his favor of the national will. It is hardly a cause for any surprise, therefore, that before Maximilian set his foot upon the soil of Mexico, he and his Government were irrevocably, incurably insolvent.

Before sailing for Mexico Maximilian had visited the Pope, and later Paris, where with the Emperor was elaborated an agreement known as the Convention of Miramar, which went into effect on the 10th of April, 1864. These were some of its conditions:

The French expeditionary corps to be reduced as soon as possible to 25,000 men. The troops to be recalled as fast as Maximilian could organize a national army.

A secret agreement was annexed to the treaty as given to the public, stipulating that the repatriation of the French troops should take place only by fractions and that the French forces should not be reduced below 20,000 until 1867. After the evacuation the foreign legion in the service of France should become a charge upon the treasury of the Mexican Government and remain in Mexico for six years.

Such was the military coöperation which Napoleon assured to the young empire.

In following articles was enumerated the series of debts of Mexico to France. Maximilian was to indemnify the French subjects for all the prejudices they had unduly undergone and which had been the motive of the French expedition. A mixed commission was formed for a definitive liquidation of the amounts of these debts. The sum already declared to be due and claimed by the French Minister Saligny would absorb more than a year's revenue of Mexico. But that was not all. The French Government fixed the expenses of its expedition up to the 1st of July, 1864, at 270,000,000 francs ($54,000,000). Maximilian recognized himself as a debtor for this sum, which would have been pretty considerable for any country, but was

simply ridiculous for Mexico. That was not all. From the 1st of July, 1864, the Mexican Government was to pay for the nourishment and maintenance of the *corps d'armée* a thousand francs a year per man. Nor was this all, for Napoleon forgot nothing, not even the services of the transports every two months. They were valued at 400,000 francs ($80,000) the voyage, to be paid by Mexico. It was calculated that Maximilian, thanks to the support of France, would have sufficient credit to contract a loan of 66,000,000 francs, the proceeds of which should be remitted immediately to the French Government. This would be the first instalment of the formidable debt which threatened Mexico with a far more grievous crisis than any which had preceded it.

Maximilian, in childish ignorance signing this convention, proclaimed himself insolvent before his reign began; and Napoleon consummated the ruin of his Mexican Empire by the very treaty with which he pretended to regenerate it.

On the 28th of May, 1864, Maximilian and Carlotta landed on the shores of the New World at Vera Cruz, a city at that season ravaged by the yellow fever, and its inhabitants by no means favorably disposed toward the empire. Fifteen days later, on the 12th of June, they entered the City of Mexico, to become at once the two most unfortunate and pitiable persons in all modern history, and to continue such to the end of their lives.

They already began to regard with suspicion the people by whose representations of the public opinion of Mexico they had been beguiled. They looked for friends in other quarters, but they found none whom they could trust, because the conditions under which they entered Mexico were such that no one could trust them. They were without any political experience; without more comprehension than children of the various and conflicting forces with which they had to deal; with a vast empire to govern without money or credit, and only the shadow of political power, the substance of which was five thousand miles away. Neither history nor romance has ever painted anything more tragic than the fate that awaited both, unless it be that of the sovereign of whose selfish and nefarious ambition they had become the innocent prey.

VII

LORD DALLING AND BULWER

AMONG the English notabilities who spent a portion of the winter of 1864–65 in Paris was Sir Henry Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling and Bulwer. I had met Sir Henry in New York while he was chief of the British Legation in Washington, 1849–51, but our intercourse had been too slight and of too formal a character to leave a definite impression upon either of us. We met next in Paris at the dinner-table of a common friend in 1864. He still held the post of Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, where he had succeeded Sir Stratford de Radcliffe in 1858, and was now on leave, as the Paris gossips had it, to explain, if he could, some financial operations to which the Sultan took exception. These charges, or something else, proved fatal to his diplomatic career, which terminated finally in the following year.[1] I met him frequently during his sojourn in Paris, and parted with him at each

[1] Bulwer was not popular in Paris. Thouvenel, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, writing to Flahault, then French Ambassador at London, under date of November 11, 1861, said: "I don't know a word of the letter of M. de Lallemand (Chargé d'Affaires of France to Constantinople) to Prince Couza (Hospodar of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia), but I know the man well enough to be sure that if he has taken this step it has only been to check *un coup de Jarnac* of Sir Henry Bulwer. Everything which is reported to me of this strange ambassador, and it is not through the French Embassy, is truly incredible. He is surrounded only by ruined women and people *tarés*, and it is in the coulisses of the harem outside of the Turkish ministers' that he makes politics. His hostility to us he testifies in every one of his acts, and notably in the campaign which he has undertaken against the company of Ottoman lighthouses because it is a French company. He passes all bounds. This affair will infallibly become a cause of conflict between the two embassies, and perhaps it would be well for Lord Russell to examine more seriously this affair, about which I will write you again." (Thouvenel, Le Secret de l'Empereur, Vol. II, p. 187.)

successive interview with increased respect for his talents and accomplishments. He was a singularly fascinating man; fascinating without being lovable. I never heard him utter a sentence of which I should not have regretted missing a word. His talk was always well informed without being in the least pedantic or intensive. Every word was most skilfully adapted to his purpose, whatever that purpose might be. The wish to please and win you was artfully concealed under a languid, tired-out, valetudinarian manner which conveyed an impression of the most perfect indifference about the effect he was all the while trying to produce. This was the wooden horse in which he entered the citadels he wished to hold. You needed to know him long and pretty well to detect under the disguise of this lazy, languid, shuffling, exhausted manner of his, the designs he had upon you, for he was never without a design of some sort. He was never *bavard;* he never talked apparently to gratify his vanity, nor did wine or stimulants of any kind, in the use of which he was anything but abstemious, seem to increase his loquacity a particle. Silence with him was not infrequently as effective an instrument as speech. It would not do to put too much trust in his sincerity, nor any at all in his sentimental professions. He was an Epicurean from head to foot; the world was his oyster, which, with any weapon that would best serve his purpose, he would open. His languor of manner was not, however, altogether artificial. His health was delicate, and he was a fearful consumer of drugs. When the Greek physician who long formed part of his establishment at Constantinople was remonstrated with for prescribing so much medicine for him, "Moi, Monsieur," was the reply, "moi lui faire de telles ordinances: ma tâche journalière c'est de l'empêcher de prendre de la médecine."

When I first met him at dinner he said he was near being prevented from coming by a fearful headache—a trouble to which he had been subject all his life, but from which he always obtained relief by swallowing a tablespoonful of pure salt. He said this remedy was prescribed to him by a country physician in England who was accustomed to administer it to William Pitt, also a frequent sufferer from headache. A teaspoonful of brandy, he said, was sometimes added; *pour encourager les autres,* I suppose.

Sir Henry carried his pockets more or less stocked with drugs, and I have seen him at my own table take from his pocket a druggist's prescription and swallow it between the courses with as little ceremony as he would take a sip of water from a tumbler. To this destructive habit was to be attributed, no doubt, his cadaverous and utterly colorless complexion, in this as in many other respects suggesting a comparison with Talleyrand, whom of all modern Europeans I think he would have most wished to be thought to resemble. He was not only a good talker, but a good listener—to a good talker. He never missed and rarely forgot anything said to him worth remembering. As he had occupied positions which had brought him into relations with representative people in all quarters of the globe, his conversation was often enriched by citations from theirs. I recall some of these which for one reason or another most impressed me.

Speaking of the perennial struggle between the Germanic and the Latin races in Europe and in America, he said it was Daniel Webster's theory that the people who fed on milk would in the long run dominate the people who fed on oil.

He repeatedly spoke of a declaration of Talleyrand, whom he had met and slightly known while he was first Secretary of the English Legation in Paris, that notwithstanding all the aid the United States received from France in securing her independence, England was her natural ally and would always have more influence than France with her people and Government.

Speaking one day of the difficulty which men in active public life experience in getting that uninterrupted leisure which is indispensable for any sustained literary effort, he said that he once asked Alexander von Humboldt how he contrived to read and write so much and yet to be so much in the world, for he seemed to be everywhere. Humboldt's reply was: "I have two homes, one where I am supposed to reside and one where I actually reside. It is in the latter place that I do my work, perfectly secure there even from the apprehension of interruption."

Sir Henry took a desponding view of statesmanship in England, as statesmen are apt to do when their country shows symptoms of a disposition to get on without them. The Reform Bill, he said, had extinguished the race of great states-

men in England. They used to be trained for their work from their youth and looked to the whole of England as their constituency. "Now our statesmen are the successful speculators in cotton, or workers in iron, who are content to satisfy the voters of the little town that elects them. Since the Reform Bill, England has steadily fallen in the estimation of Europe."

He pretended to have a collection of all of Talleyrand's writings, few at the most, as he was a sparing writer, and said that he had written a life of that famous politician, though he had never published it. On my expressing the hope that it might find its way to the press before long, that I might share with the public an opportunity of reading it, he said that when he returned to Constantinople he would have pleasure in sending it to me. He added that he had projected a sort of history of Europe from 1794 to 1830, in the form of biographical sketches of representative men whom he had personally known—a project which he afterwards partially realized in a two-volume work entitled "Historical Characters," which was published in 1867.

Shortly after Sir Henry returned to his post, I sent him a *discours* of Talleyrand—I forget now the subject and the occasion for its delivery—with Talleyrand's autograph on it, which I had by chance picked up at a book-stall on the quays and which, I said in my note, belonged to him by virtue of the evangelical principle that to him that hath shall be given.

In the course of a few days I received from Sir Henry the following letter:

SIR HENRY BULWER TO BIGELOW

[British Embassy,] 10th Nov., 1864.

My dear Sir:

I feel very grateful to you for your kind remembrance of me. The pamphlet you were so good as to send, and which I know of, is rare and valuable, and rendered more so by the autograph.

I am so worried by business here that I don't know which

way to turn; but as we have thus commenced a literary correspondence I will venture to intrude upon you to the extent of asking you whether you would mind undertaking the following affair for me. I have a collected copy of my speeches delivered in America, which is now at Constantinople. I thought of writing a short letter, in the shape of a preface, to Mr. Everett, touching the question of union, which is also alluded to in the said speeches. I will send you the speeches and preface, and if you think they would be favorably received in the United States, I will ask you to have them reprinted there. It will give me great gratification thus to continue the friendly connection which I formed of your country [*sic*] and to give further evidence of my desire to see a sympathetic feeling produced between two great sections of what, to use an expression now almost become vulgar, is called the Anglo-Saxon race.

Ever, my dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SIR HENRY BULWER

79 Rue de Richelieu, Paris,
November 18, 1864.

Dear Sir:

You may count upon my zealous co-operation in any effort that may be made to preserve your American discourses in a permanent form. It seems to me that our people have fed so long upon horrors that they will be disposed to welcome any book which will take them back to those days of our national adolescence when the future seemed so cloudless. Besides, the address with which you propose to preface the collection will give it more or less of that "actualité" in which publishers delight. If you will give me the opportunity I will refresh my recollection of the discourses and take the necessary steps to inform myself as soon as possible of the most suitable time, mode and place of their publication.

. . . . . .

I remain, dear Sir, etc.

In February following I received the prefatory letter and the speeches referred to. The speeches, which had been printed on the press at the embassy in Constantinople, bore the following title in MS.: "A Collection of After-Dinner Speeches Delivered in America, Alexandria and Constantinople by the Right Hon. Sir Henry Bulwer, formerly her Majesty's Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, now British Ambassador at Constantinople."

Sir Henry's real motive in making or rather in asking to have this publication made, and made in the United States rather than in England, was, as he confessed to me, to direct the attention of his own and of our Government to the advantage of sending him as a special envoy to the United States, first to negotiate a peace between the belligerents, and later to adjust the differences between his own Government and that of the United States in regard to the damage sustained by American commerce from armed vessels equipped in British ports. He knew he must soon retire from Constantinople; he not only desired as a matter of pride, but he needed for its emoluments, some diplomatic employment; and he might accept a special mission to the United States without the appearance of a promotion downward.

I do not know whether it was in Sir Henry's power to have worked out a result more favorable to his country than the one which has gone into history; but of one thing I am persuaded—that had he been charged with such a mission, there would have been but one treaty of Washington instead of two; and the treaty that was signed, if any, would have been conceived in such terms that the English Government would never have been afraid to leave the construction of it to commissioners of whose selection she had already approved.

As the prefatory letter has never been published, for reasons which will presently appear, I will insert it here at length. The death of Mr. Everett in January, 1865, may explain Sir Henry's substitution of my name for that of his older and more distinguished friend.

To John Bigelow, Esq.

My Dear Sir:

In the conversation which we had together the last time I was in Paris, on various subjects connected with the past and present of America, you were obliging enough to recur to the speeches which I delivered when Her Majesty's minister in the United States, and to express an opinion that their republication, in a collected form, would probably secure them a favorable reception in the United States. This induces me to send you a collection of those speeches, made at the time by my private secretary, with some notices he annexed from the journals of the day, leaving it to you, after reperusing the same, to consider whether the sentiments you entertained, as the consequence of somewhat vague recollections, remain unaltered when they are thus brought to a practical test; and if so, I would venture to ask you to undertake a task for me which I should find it difficult to perform.

As to the political merits of the discourses I thus submit to you, if political merits they possess, these must be considered with relation to the objects which, in delivering them, the speaker had in view.

When he arrived in America, a spirit very hostile to Great Britain prevailed, and though the real state of things was not known to the public, war seemed imminent, and difficult to avoid with honor.

We protected the Mosquito people:—The rights which we contended they possessed, had been denied by Nicaragua; we had supported these rights by arms against Nicaragua. On the other hand, the United States Government had just taken up the same line of argument as the Nicaraguans, and entered into a treaty with them, acknowledging and engaging to support the principles they contended for. Thus in point of fact England had either to yield to the United States as a great state what she had refused to Nicaragua as a small one, or the United States had to desist from the engagements they had formally entered into with the little state with which we were in hostility, evidently from the fear of coming into conflict with Great Britain.

The first thing necessary was to put the affair on some negotiable basis, so as to prevent any sudden collision; the next,

to introduce into the public mind of America such a friendly feeling as would probably render negotiation successful.

In all negotiations, indeed, the feeling likely to pervade them is the first consideration. There is no affair that cannot be arranged when people look at it in a calm and amiable temper;—there is no affair that will be arranged when people sit down to treat it in an opposite spirit. In governments of a despotic character a diplomatist has to gain the good will of the sovereign or minister:—with a popular government he must gain the good will of the people.

Our great fault in dealing with the United States has been our neglect of this principle. When we have had a quarrel we have been willing to arrange it on moderate terms, and even to make great concessions to obtain an arrangement; but we have not tried to cultivate at all times those sentiments amongst the Americans which soften or prevent quarrels, and either make arrangements easy, or prevent necessity for them.

Public speaking was a means of doing what had to be done. In resorting to this mode of conciliation, it would have been unwise to use it in a way that would have been derogatory to our nation, in order that it should be satisfactory to another.

A British minister under such circumstances should not say what he did not think and feel in favour of the nation he was residing amongst, nor what could in the remotest degree be disparaging to the nation to which he belonged.

It was necessary to bring forward the good and great points in the character of the English and of the Americans, and to call their joint attention to whatever would create a sympathy between the two. Many circumstances favoured this attempt. After-dinner speeches are commonly employed across the Atlantic as a popular means of affecting public opinion; the greatest orators and statesmen of the United States at the time of which I am speaking, Clay, Webster, resorted to this mode of popularizing their opinions. In coming forward side by side with them, and contending for distinction in a line which every man in every village was accustomed to appreciate, the Representative of Great Britain did what was most agreeable to American tastes; and it is much in favor of American impartiality, to say that a large

portion of the American press (with a freedom from national prejudice which did it honor) took his part, on more than one occasion, against the unjust attacks of American journalists.

Brief; the policy pursued was successful. A treaty was signed and ratified by the two governments, which seemed likely to terminate their differences; and the present Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, who had been Secretary of State during these transactions, while speaking of the excellent relations which existed between the cabinets of Washington and St. James, attributed this happy result in some degree to the character and conduct of the agent he had employed.

Unfortunately, I was obliged, on account of the climate of Washington having severely tried my health, to leave the United States before the course I had been pursuing had completely achieved the object I had had in view. Mr. Webster's constitution also began to break, and delayed the progress of affairs, and a new party came into office, which was inclined, as is usual in countries similarly governed, to find fault with that which had been done by its predecessor. It is possible, moreover, that the same pains were not taken to keep up that undercurrent of feeling, which, as I have said, renders the outward flow of affairs smooth and easy; and thus a controversy, after my departure, arose as to the Bulwer and Clayton treaty, which found no opponents when I was in America. Still the *hot* crisis had been passed; and by a little prudence and forbearance on the part of the two governments, all differences were finally arranged, and nothing disturbed a peace which would certainly have been broken, if the treaty I have been alluding to had not been made.

I have given this slight sketch of political events during the two years I resided amongst the American people, and I am not sorry to preserve the record of them, colored as that record must be with the grateful memory of the many kindnesses to which those two years bear witness.

At first there is undoubtedly in the American public at large, something more rude and rough than we are accustomed to; the actions of Americans are more abrupt, their opinions more extreme than our own. There are also slight shades in manner, pronunciation, and expression, which appear singular at first acquaintance, but which, though striking, were not to my mind disagreeable. At all events, the

severest critic must confess that the American people are a genuine people. Frank-hearted, open-handed, brave, hospitable, with a high appreciation of great actions and beautiful expressions.

In regard to the higher class of society, it is scattered through various towns, but few of which I have visited;—and any general opinion I give would be founded on partial observation. But what I can say with truth, and which in a certain degree will suffice as the expression of an opinion on this subject, is:—that three of the most eminent statesmen I ever knew were American statesmen; three of the greatest orators I ever knew were American orators; three of the most agreeable men of letters I ever knew were American men of letters; three of the most charming women I ever knew were American women.

I may confess then, as one of my motives for not being unwilling to deliver to republication the contents of this small volume, the desire to establish some memorial of many agreeable private recollections. But I also find in the present aspect of public affairs, additional reasons for complying with your suggestion.

It might have been supposed when I had an official character in your country, that the affection and sympathy I expressed for it were partly official, and that I did not really feel all the sentiments I expressed. This idea, though erroneous, would be natural; but at this time, I have not, and probably shall never again have, any political connection of any sort with the great Republic I quitted in 1851, on the other side of the Atlantic. What I say now, therefore, may, at all events, be considered as my genuine and disinterested opinions; and I am glad, under such circumstances, to repeat my conviction that the people of England, and the people of the English race, spread over the Great Western Continent, ought to be linked together in the closest amity, and that each is, if their interests and position are wisely appreciated, the natural ally of the other. Had I not this conviction I should probably see with satisfaction the struggle now going on between my old friends in the North and South, and look forward with pleasure to the prospect of their definite separation, as the termination of that struggle. But governed by other ideas, I may be permitted to entertain other hopes! It will be seen

that I was, when at Washington, "an union man," and "an union man" I still remain.

It is not that I share in that idle call after "nationalities," which is becoming the fashion of the day. I do not think it would be possible, or if possible, that it would be expedient for the happiness or greatness of mankind, that every small section of the human family, whether weak or powerful,—ignorant or enlightened,—stupid or intelligent, should have a separate individuality. On the contrary, the natural course of things exacts that the powerful, the enlightened, the intelligent amongst nations, should swallow up the weak, the ignorant, and the stupid; as the rod of Aaron swallowed up the other rods. Alternate decay and growth, which is the universal principle of our world, are thus maintained amongst the races who inhabit it. But when there is living together, under one system of laws and government, one people, speaking the same language, having the same literature and history; and this people has already made itself great and illustrious, and seems likely, by its future influence and domination, to affect favorably the destiny of those inferior races that surround it—I cannot but sympathize with its aggregate illustration, with its collective prosperity and grandeur, and think it would be a calamity that the frame of its policy and its existence should be shattered by fratricidal contests and the energy and the intellect, which are its common endowments, be employed in working out its general ruin.

I can quite understand many grounds for difference and dispute between the two great American nations which are now ranged in opposite camps; but I cannot understand why every existing difference and dispute cannot be arranged more wisely and conclusively by friendly council than by hostile struggle. I must add, moreover, that while feeling an involuntary admiration for that skill and that heroism which have distinguished the armies of the South, I cannot but feel enlisted by principle and feeling in the cause of the North. We Englishmen, indeed, are in my opinion bound in honor and consistency to that cause. It is no doubt to us, or at least to the zealots amongst us,—to our anti-slavery speeches, our anti-slavery societies, our anti-slavery missionaries, that the present war is, in no small degree, owing.

It was we who rendered sore and irritable the mind of the

Southern planters, and gave its sting and sharpness to the rhetoric of the Northern democrat; and it is not when affairs are brought to a last crisis, that we can look out of the window, with our hands in our pockets, and talk about the weather!

Our consciences are ranged perforce under the federal banner, and there ought to be no mystery in our making this confession. Nor should we be angry or astonished, if under the peculiar circumstances in which we stand, the North has expected more from England practically than she could, with any consistency to her established policy, perform.

The temporary bitterness which a temporary disappointment created, must necessarily pass away, and already the Statesmen of the Federal States are acknowledging that we could not establish a case exclusively for them, and that they could not expect us to do what they themselves would not do, if they were in our places.

It is not, indeed, for us to decide what the general vagueness of the line of demarcation between legal and illegal resistance leaves undetermined. Victory alone can ultimately decide whether they who are in battle array against the President and Congress at Washington, are exercising a legitimate pretension, or carrying on an illegitimate rebellion; but all who wish well to our Trans-atlantic brethren are able to declare that whether rightfully or wrongfully in arms, it would be far more for the interests of the Southern Confederacy to enter into some amicable compromise than to sustain a wasting conflict. On the other hand, the undaunted courage, the prompt and unwearied intelligence which that Confederacy has manifested, must have taught Northern statesmen how great would be their loss, if the States which form it cannot be again brought within the pale of the old Republic. Both sides, indeed, as I am told, begin to shadow out the basis and principal features of a new understanding; and the difficulty is rather as to the manner it should be brought about in, than as to the condition that should be given to it. One party wishes it to be the effect of a generous pardon, the other that of a settlement between two combatants, the issue of whose contest is yet uncertain. No doubt this question is of importance to the present actors on the great scene of conflict; but twenty years hence, and to the

generation then existing, the great consideration will be, not as to who was theoretically right or wrong, in the pending contest, but whether that portion of America peopled by our forefathers, is still one mighty empire, breathing the sentiments of liberty through the world, or whether it has dissolved into a series of comparatively small and insignificant states (for the principle of division will not stop at its first stage) which by their constant and petty warfare must elevate the military element at the expense of the civil, and degenerate finally into something like the Spanish tyrannies, which disgrace the name of Republics.

May I not venture to observe that the best manner to make up a quarrel is that most likely to make a reconciliation lasting; and that no reconciliation can be long maintained if its foundation stone is the shattered pride of one of the parties. If the South is not in a condition to submit as vanquished, it is of no use looking to a peaceful result in absolute submission; if it is fairly beaten, the best policy that can be devised may be that of obtaining its gratitude by sparing it a painful humiliation. One of the greatest arts in the conduct of affairs is to avoid extreme conclusions; and no victory is perfect unless it is pardoned by the vanquished.

But I am passing beyond the limits within which a friendly counsellor should speak of the affairs of another country. There is, moreover, such a practical character in the American understanding, that I have little doubt that when the proper or possible moment for arrangement comes, a sort of general instinct will bring it about. In the meantime, I withdraw and apologize for all advice that may be intrusive, and merely express those general and sincere good wishes for which I know that you at least, my dear Sir, will give me unbounded credit.

You will perceive that in order to make up my little volume, I have added to the speeches delivered in America, a few delivered on similar occasions in the East.

I have added them under the common heading of "After-Dinner Speeches," from the idea, that after-dinner speaking being a sort of science in the United States, those speeches which contain a good many facts relative to a part of the world little known across the Atlantic, may not be without interest.

I have done so also in vindication of a theory that public

speaking is an arm, which, when sparingly and discreetly exercised, may be most usefully employed by an English diplomatist, who places himself appropriately when he places himself on the platform of the world, and confides the views he entertains, and the policy that his government pursues, to the broad criticism of public opinion.

Finally, permit me, my dear Sir, after thus troubling you, to sign myself:

Yours very sincerely,

HENRY L. BULWER.

I decided to send the speeches to Senator Sumner in Washington, and with them a letter explaining my relation to them and conferring upon him a discretionary authority to submit them to any publisher he saw fit, if upon examination he thought their publication would serve any good purpose.

Mr. Sumner thought favorably of the publication and sent them to Dr. Lieber in New York, with a request that he would find for them a suitable publisher.

The doctor mislaid them, and when, some months later, reminded of the trust, forgot that he had received them. While debating with Mr. Sumner through the post whether he had kept or returned the speeches, the Rebellion came to an end, and the principal if not the sole advantage that could have been hoped from their publication in America seemed to have been anticipated. Two years later they were found and returned to me.

To a note advising Sir Henry of their fate, written after my retirement from the Paris mission and return to the United States, I received the following reply:

SIR HENRY BULWER TO BIGELOW

[Without date.]

My dear Sir:

I was glad to get your letter—I have never sought nor wished for many friends, but when I have had any acquaintance I valued, I have desired to keep them as friends.

My health is better, I have left off smoking, drink little tea or coffee—but do not lead a healthy life. If I could find a farm in a warm climate, I think I would take to your mode of vegetation. The movement of Nature, ye growth in Spring, ye perfection in Summer, ye rich decay in Autumn—I will say nothing of Winter, excite as much and disappoint less than ye variations in societies, customs and laws.

As to my speeches—never mind—we will leave them alone. You have taken about them more trouble than they deserve. If a time ever come for making them useful in rekindling friendly associations between our two countries, or making me live in ye friendly recollections of you and yours, well and good; if not, let them be swept away with ye rotten leaves that ye gardener carries off in a wheel-barrow in order that they may not encumber neat gravel walks.

My book has been out about six weeks, and had, to my surprise, extraordinary success. It is full, notwithstanding, of a printer's faults and an author's carelessness or rather illness—for how ye deuce can a sick man travel about, look to proofs or investigate references? I was forced to leave much mechanical work to others, and all I did leave to others was, as usual, done with less attention than one would have given oneself. Nevertheless ye volumes sold marvellously and have been praised more than they deserve.

The first edition went off before one could open his eyes; and ye publisher printed a second from ye type still standing and without giving me ye notice necessary to make corrections.

A third edition is coming out, when there will be fewer faults, and I shall send you a copy to the Legation here or in London—I fancy my publisher, wishing me to have no cheap editions to compete with his own, never dealt with any American publisher. If ye work has not been printed in America, indeed, I shall be glad; because it can then be printed there in a corrected form, as sooner or later it probably will be. I rather think of putting Clay in ye next series. Could you put me in ye way of getting what has been written about him and tell me whether you think he would come out interestingly? What do you think his main characteristics?

I called him "Ye Knight and Sage of Kentucky." Do you think Webster would do better?

I do not know Thornton. I was sounded by some friends in ye government as to whether I wd. like a special Embassy to the U. S.

I told them my idea—a mission of this kind must be to ye nation as much as to ye government. A question is great or small in America as ye feeling is hostile or friendly. If one could make a mission a shaking of hands, yes; I always spoke in favor of the Union.—To go to ye U. S., to speak ye same language, to do away with that hostility which ye supposition that we favored disunion engendered,—that might do good. What do you think? I say this confidentially, but I doubt if Lord Stanley has ye courage to undertake anything beyond the jog-trot mediocrity of routine.

As to a formal, political correspondence, I think it a sure way of envenoming and not of reconciling differences.

I have had different things proposed to me in our political life—but to undertake it with my notions—that is, with a will and ideas, though every one wants some one who has a will and ideas, would be too fatiguing. My mind is for action but my *matter* for repose.

Here things are as always, fluctuating between a tyranny that is unsatisfactory and a liberty that is impossible—a war that no one wants and a peace that no one is contented with.

A military despotism or a Democratic confusion threatens the Continent.

Generally speaking, everything about man is progressing, but man himself is in my opinion rather retrograding.

But it is difficult to judge one's epoch. Kind remembrances to Mrs. Bigelow.

Yours ever

The book referred to in this letter was entitled "Historical Characters" and appeared in two volumes in 1867. It was dedicated to Sir Henry's brother Edward, Lord Lytton, and contained his impressions of "Talleyrand the Politic Man," of "Cobbett the Contentious Man," of "Canning the Brilliant Man," and of "Mackintosh the Man of Promise." It had a great and well-deserved success. The purpose hinted at in his

letter, of adding another volume which was to include one or more notable Americans, was only partially executed. He seemed to have occupied himself only with Palmerston and Peel, and I doubt if he ever got so far as to make the choice of his American hero. His election to Parliament in 1868 and his elevation to the peerage in 1871 as Baron Dalling and Bulwer gave him more congenial employment for what little health and strength remained to him. His bucolic dream of a farm and the charms of nature, to which disappointed statesmen are rather more subject than other people, was, like most dreams, of short duration; for, not many months after the date of the letter just given, I received from him a note written on his way to take the waters of Aix in Savoy, which closed as follows:

"If you ever see our papers you will perceive that I have some idea of entering Parliament. If I do it will be because I find that life, if one cannot give it some action, drops into a sort of inert dissatisfaction which resembles a loss of breath. The constituency is entirely changed, but I prefer ye working class to ye middle class; anything to dull, sordid mediocrity."

In a subsequent letter dated from Hyères, January 18, 1870, he writes in a similar strain:

"Your task, moreover—the task of your own conservation—is not an ignoble one. You have to keep off anarchy on one side, military despotism on the other. Either will destroy you—and liberty and invigorating agitation lie between the two. But man is always what he was in ye time of Horace, and you talk of abdicating and educating your children and planting cabbages (in preparation for Sauerkraut) on the banks of ye Rhine and Danube, *crede Experto.* One does not find repose in finding idleness. *Ibidem homines qui ament inertiam oderunt quietam.* Never die, never retire, never overfatigue yourself. Value labor for labor's sake—expect little else from it. If it comes, give it to your wife. She will like to wear it. Her husband's name is her favorite jewel. For myself, I live with myself and my memories. They can't quarrel with me, and when we invite them to supper, come in their best clothes. I had half a mind the other day to write a work called the 'Surrenders of Diplomacy,' in which I should have

left a record of ye absurdities of our diplomacy and yours in recent transactions. It is as if both governments had struggled to put themselves in ye wrong, and with this wisdom the world is carried on."

Sir Henry was returned to Parliament from Tamworth in December, 1868. He sought to occupy in that body what he called an independent position. Though a Tory by instinct, he had been too long a soldier of fortune to have any political convictions strong enough to determine his party relations. He was not fortunate in the occasions or the methods he selected for demonstrating his usefulness in the House of Commons, and, to his great relief, was graciously raised to the peerage in the spring of 1871. The remainder of his life, not destined to be long, was devoted mainly to the care of his health and to the preparation of a life of his faithful and indulgent friend Lord Palmerston, which he was compelled, however, to leave incomplete.[1]

Though Sir Henry devoted the best part of his life to diplomacy, and though he achieved an indisputable eminence in that vocation, he will be best and longest known as a man of letters. What he has left us of his writings leads us to regret that when he retired from Parliament in 1837 he had not consecrated the remainder of his days to literature. Had he done so it is not improbable that the position of the brothers Bulwer would have been reversed and that Henry and not Edward would now be regarded as the literary chief, the *decus et tutamen* of the family. His taste was more severe and correct; his mind was more logical and had been trained for more effective work. If he appeared to have less imagination, it was probably because he actually had more judgment. His "France, Social, Literary and Political," which appeared in 1834 and while he was yet a secretary of legation, abounds with acute observation and sound criticism, and will always be worth the room it would occupy in any library. He was unusually well acquainted with all classes and every rank of French society, not even excepting the demi-monde, in which, as everywhere else, he knew how to make himself acceptable at a minimum cost of self-respect. With very few of the provincial prejudices of his countrymen, he had the faculty of

[1] He died at Naples, May 23, 1872.

turning the prejudices and weaknesses of every rank and class and of both sexes to the best account; and he had no hesitation nor scruples nor prudish fears about doing it. He made it his business as well as his pleasure to be on friendly terms with all the authors, artists and journalists of note and of both sexes in Paris; he knew George Sand intimately, and one of her most famous novels, "Mauprat," is said to have been inspired by him.

His first efforts in life did not promise well. He entered Cambridge, but did not take a degree; he purchased a coronetcy in the Horse Guards, but that did not suit him. He sold out and had influence enough left to get attached to the English Legation at Berlin. On his way to his post he passed through Paris (1827) and managed to carry away with him in a few days from thirty to forty thousand dollars won at play. With this capital to start with, he was rich enough and bold enough to have himself included in a whist club at Berlin which was in the habit of forgathering at Prince Wittgenstein's, and which embraced the most notable people about the court, but because of the high play indulged there—sometimes five hundred louis on a rubber—was not frequented by any other members of the English Embassy. Bulwer not only managed to come off a winner, but to pick up much important information to which his official superiors had not access, and with which he built up for himself such a reputation in Downing Street as insured him rapid promotion. He was soon sent to Vienna, thence to The Hague, and from The Hague in 1830 he was dispatched on special service to watch the progress of the Belgian revolution. Lord Palmerston was so well pleased with his reports and resources that he brought him into Parliament and charged himself with his fortunes for the remainder of his days.[1]

Sir Henry was not accustomed to put much of his trust in moral forces. He believed fully in the British Lion, especially when prodded a little by Lord Palmerston. He did not dispute the existence of superior forces more elevated, perhaps, but he had never learned how to use them, nor had he missed them. Had he worked upon a higher level, it would not be rash to say that there is no political distinction to which an English subject may aspire which he might not reasonably have hoped to

[1] The Conversations-Lexikon described Bulwer as "the prop and pillar of the Palmerston policy in the East."

attain. Unhappily, he was content to make his own pleasure, his own interests and his own ambition the aims and ends of his life; seemingly not aware that history measures the greatness of a statesman more by what he does for others than by what he aims to do for himself.

BIGELOW TO HON. CHARLES SUMNER

PARIS, 24 Feby., 1865.

My dear Friend:

During a brief visit which Sir Henry Bulwer made to this city last fall, I had some talk with him about a republication of his speeches made during his diplomatic residence in the United States, which he said he had in contemplation. As he proposed to avail himself of the occasion to speak of our domestic trouble, I encouraged him in his purpose. Soon after his return to Constantinople he wrote to ask me, in case he prepared the material with a sort of prefatory letter which he contemplates, to Mr. Everett, if I would superintend the publication of it, should I find on looking it over that the work promised to be acceptable. Of course I promised to do my possible.

A few weeks since another letter from his Excellency, which I enclose for your perusal, informed me that he would send me the speeches by the next opportunity, with a prefatory letter addressed to myself. [The death of Everett had intervened.] About a week ago I received the speeches and the letter. . . .

Not wishing Sir Henry to be guided entirely by my judgment of the public taste in the United States, which during my absence from the country may, indeed must, have undergone important changes, I thought I might take the liberty of asking you to give Sir Henry the benefit of your opinion, and, if you thought well of the publication, ask you to procure for me from some good publisher such proposals as you thought I could advise his Excellency to accept.

Sir Henry does not expect any financial benefit from the sale of this book, neither would it suit his purposes, I presume, to

have the sale so inconsiderable as not to cover expenses. Should the publisher you may select, if any, make me proposals which would simply require my acceptance to close the contract, it would save time, and if the work is worth publishing at all in America, *I suppose* the sooner it is done the better.

It may be that the pride of authorship enters somewhat into the motives of this publication on the part of Sir Henry, though the principal motive, I suspect, is a more serious and a more respectable one. I am disposed to regard it a diplomatic step made in the interest of his country.

. . . . . .

As our prospects improve, our friends multiply here. M. Guizot, who has never found a pretext for saying anything in our favor, is now looking around for one. Cochin, who has been very quiet since the first year of the war, is coming to me on Monday for details about the constitutional amendment, about which I hope he will undertake to write something effective. Oh, Sumner, who is the orator, who the poet, gifted enough to celebrate all the great things achieved by the United States since this war began? And what an enviable part you have had in it all! A man came to me to-day for materials for a life of Mr. Lincoln to make a volume in a collection of men who have risen from humble industrious employments to usefulness and distinction. I promised to fit him out on Sunday. On every side our country is recovering its old position gradually in the estimation of Republicans and gaining enormously in the estimation of others.

Pardon this long and trouble-freighted letter, and believe me, etc.

BIGELOW TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

PARIS, 12 March, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Commodore Barron, flag officer of the rebel navy, whose headquarters are at the Grand Hotel in Paris, has issued orders for Lieut. Porter to go to Limerick for reasons which I

am led to suppose will bear watching. I know of this Commodore's speaking yesterday to another Confederate officer about joining Porter at Limerick.

Capt. H. H. Dorty, who has been residing at No. 2 Bennett St., St. James, London, and a Mr. Bishop, who is from Petersburg, Va., both were to leave London night before last for Copenhagen. They are wealthy and upon the application, made by Bullock & Maury to Commodore Barron, have been promised commissions, the first a lieutenancy and the other a mastership in the "Provisional Navy" of the Confederates, upon condition that they will provide, arm and equip a vessel, and pay her expenses one month. After that she is to be at the charge of the rebel government. I am led to suppose that the motive of their journey to Copenhagen is to join the ship which they propose to make the price of their commissions.

These men are accompanied by a Col. Thomas of Maryland, known in London as "Zavona" and in the United States as the "French lady," in which capacity he was performing two or three years ago when taken prisoner on the Chesapeake steamer.

The *Stonewall* is preparing to strengthen her armament so as to carry 10 guns, 4 on each side and 2 of the largest pivot guns to be had, one at each end. She is expected to be ready for sea about the 1st of April or a little before and to muster 140 men.

I think all this information, whatever may be its value, is reliable.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 14, 1865.

Sir:

The sudden death of the Duke de Morny, and the prospect of an early termination of the war in the United States, has almost produced a panic in Paris. At no time since the Italian war have the French people appeared so concerned for the

future. The markets have all been depressed, in spite of the efforts to sustain them.

To enable you the better to appreciate the influence and bearing of our late military successes upon public opinion, I enclose extracts from a series of journals, all more or less "officious," and all published at or about the same time. Enclosure No. 1 is an article from the *Mémorial Diplomatique* on the "Monroe Doctrine." After giving an account of that doctrine, as he understands it, the writer proceeds to present additional reasons for feeling no disquietude about the French empire in Mexico, in consequence of unfriendly feelings in the United States.

Enclosure No. 2 is a report of some remarks made in the Senate on the 10th by the Marquis de Boissy.[1]

. . . . . .

Enclosure No. 3 is an extract from the reply of Chaix d'Estange to the Marquis de Boissy.

Enclosure No. 4 is an extract from an editorial article in the *Avenir National* of the 12th, commenting upon the article already cited from the *Mémorial Diplomatique.*

Also extracts in same enclosure from the *Patrie* and the *Presse* and *La France* of the 13th.

These papers and proceedings will show that our attitude towards Mexico has been rendered much more disquieting to the people of France as our prospects of domestic peace have improved.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosure No. 3]

The Marquis de Boissy was followed by Chaix d'Estange.

The following is an extract from the reply of Chaix d'Estange to the Marquis de Boissy, in the Senate, March, 1865:

" . . . The speaker had trenched upon a number of questions, into which I shall hardly be expected to follow him. . . . M. de Boissy fears that if the United States should become once more united, our army would be compromised, and possibly soon be made prisoners of war. Let him be reassured: the United States have too much good

[1] This marquis is best known as the husband of one of the amatory trophies of Lord Byron in Venice.

sense and reason to enter into such a war; they will not traverse deserts to add other provinces to provinces already too numerous. It is not because they are exhausted, but from a well-understood feeling as to their own interest, that they would not think of attacking us in Mexico. The same reasons prevailed with England when she declined to fortify Quebec, saying there was no reason to fear, and that Quebec was not threatened. I will briefly reply on a point to which I adverted last year, and in respect of which I thought I had given the Marquis de Boissy himself satisfactory explanation. The customs receipts of Vera Cruz, before our expedition to Mexico, were engaged to satisfy the claims of England, France and Spain, and were divided monthly between them. On taking possession of that port, could we say to England and Spain, 'The treaties are null and void; we tear them up and scatter them to the winds?' No; we regarded them as sacred, and respecting them was not giving way to England, but honorably fulfilling a contract which bore the signature of France."

[Enclosure No. 4]

'Extract from L'Avenir National, Sunday, 12th March, 1865

. . . . . .

The *Mémorial Diplomatique* exerts itself to demonstrate that the Monroe doctrine is in no way applicable to the present situation. "The system," it says, "that President Monroe intended to combat was no other than that of legitimacy." This was, in effect, we concede, the first thought of Monroe at the moment when Spain thought of reconquering her former colonies. We have already said that the declaration of Monroe was made at the instigation of Canning, who was alarmed at the tendencies of the congress of Verona.

But now the Americans give to the principle a more extended interpretation. They see only in the words of Monroe the passage which is the solely important one for them: "We owe it to our good faith, and to the amiable relations which exist between the allied powers and the United States, to declare that we would consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous for our tranquillity and our security." This is the political evangel of the Americans, and one can foresee that upon the day when the south, at the end of its resources, will be obliged to submit, it will take as a pretext for reconciliation the necessary application of the Monroe doctrine.

We scarcely believe, with M. de Boissy, that as soon as peace is concluded there will be an invasion of Mexico of 500,000 to 600,000 *worth-*

less scamps. But this is an eventuality against which it would be prudent to guard.

It is wisdom in the French government to avoid a useless danger in foreign quarters. The convention with Maximilian of the 10th April, 1864, says well that 25,000 men, *including the foreign legion,* will remain temporarily in Mexico; but no minimum of sojourn is stipulated for—except for the foreign legion, which is to remain for six years—so all the other troops may be recalled from the present moment. We ought to wish that this may be at the soonest period possible.

. . . . . .

From La Patrie, March 13

Letters from New York, up to the 25th of February, brought out by the *North American* arrived yesterday in London.

They contain no further military news, but there has been received in New York the text of an address of Juarez to the Mexicans, in which he says, "Faithful to my duty and to my conscience, I shall devote all my energy to the national defence, with the assistance and coöperation of the Mexican flag." He denounces Emperor Maximilian as a usurper enslaving a free nation.

. . . . . .

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 14, 1865.

Sir:

For the information they contain and to spare me the trouble of repeating it, I have the honor to transmit enclosures Nos. 1, 2, 3, addressed by me on the 12th instant to our diplomatic agents at Copenhagen, London, and Madrid.

In addition to the facts therein set forth in regard to the naval operations of the Confederates in Europe, I have since learned that Lieutenant Porter has gone to Limerick to purchase a screw steamer, the name of which I hope to have in time to communicate to Mr. Adams by this evening's mail.

Commodore Barron leaves Paris to-day to assist at a conference to be held at Brussels on the 20th by Mason and Slidell, first visiting Calais, as I suppose, to provide for the transport of the sailors collecting at that port to ship on board the *Stonewall.* Our consular agent wrote me on the 11th that there were about a dozen sailors on the *Rappahannock* at the date of his letter, but that he saw no evidence of interference on the part of the local authorities. The visit of Commodore Barron thither leads me to hope a little that in this respect he may be mistaken.

I hope to be able to send the result of the conference at Brussels on the 20th.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 17, 1865.

Sir:

I have now to recur to some suggestions contained in your despatch No. 29, the receipt of which I have already acknowledged, and also to acknowledge, in due form, the receipt of your despatch of February 14, No. 30.

The burden of these matters is an uneasy state of mind in the Emperor's government concerning our private relations with France, as affected by the war in Mexico.

This government foresaw the present embarrassment, and expressed itself frankly to the imperial government before it intervened in Mexico. It is that embarrassment which now affects the political situation in regard to that country. Even if it were necessary, on our part, to labor for its removal, the traditions and sympathies of a whole continent could not be uprooted by the exercise of any national authority, and especially could it not be done by a government that is so purely democratic as ours. The Emperor's persistence implies that he yet believes to be certain, what we have constantly told him that the people of the United States, reasoning upon preconceived sentiments and national principles, cannot even appre-

hend to be possible—namely, that a new European monarchical system can and ought to be permanently established on the American continent, and in territory bordering on this republic. It would seem that all parties must abide the trial of the experiment, of which trial it will be confessed that the people of Mexico must ultimately be the arbiters.

This government has not interfered. It does not propose to interfere in that trial. It firmly repels foreign intervention here, and looks with disfavor upon it anywhere. Therefore, for us to intervene in Mexico would be only to reverse our own principles, and to adopt in regard to that country the very policy which in any case we disallow.

. . . . . .

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 17, 1865.

Sir:

Reports having reached me from various quarters that the rebels were counting upon having the ram *Cheops,* the consort of the *Stonewall,* at sea, and under their control within the current week, I asked M. Drouyn de Lhuys to-day what value I may attach to these reports. His excellency thanked me for giving him an opportunity of stating the exact situation of that matter for the information of my government. Arman had applied for an authorization to send the *Cheops* to Prussia, and had produced a bill of sale of the vessel to the Prussian government. "I was unwilling to be caught again as in the case of the *Stonewall,*" said M. Drouyn de Lhuys, "and I told M. Arman that that was not sufficient; I must have proof of the highest official character from the Prussian government, not only that the vessel had been purchased by them, but had been taken into their possession."

I thanked his excellency for his forethought, and begged him to see that the sale was completed by an absolute and unconditional delivery. He said he should; that the delivery

must be made to some officer of the Prussian government fully authorized to take possession of her in its name, or she should not leave Bordeaux.

He then made a memorandum of the matter, and said he should meet the Minister of Marine in the Council of State to-morrow, and would impress the subject upon him anew.

I availed myself of the occasion to refer to the use made of the *Rappahannock*, and to a new report that she was about to be sold. His excellency informed me that the Minister of Marine had recently told him that there had been no arrivals on board of the *Rappahannock* to speak of. I replied that our consular agent at Calais had advised me that twelve were brought on board last week. His excellency took a note of this also, and promised to speak again to the Minister of Marine upon the subject. But he assured me that I need give myself no trouble about her going into the service of our enemies.

His excellency then spoke of my despatch in reference to the steamer *Ark*, seized by the rebels in Mexican waters; said the outrage ought not to have been tolerated, and promised to communicate the case to the department of war and marine, that orders may immediately issue for more vigor and vigilance in the enforcement of neutrality.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 15, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a copy and a translation of a communication this day received from his excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, announcing the appointment of the Marquis de Montholon to represent the Emperor of France in the quality of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Washington.

I am, sir, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS March 7 1865.

Sir:

Considerations altogether private placing an obstacle to the departure of M. le Marquis de Châteaurenard, the Emperor has called upon, to represent him in the quality of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Washington, M. le Marquis de Montholon, to whom I have just transmitted the order to proceed without delay to his new post.

It gives me pleasure to announce to you this appointment, in order that you may immediately inform the federal government thereof. It will learn, I think, with satisfaction, that the choice of his Majesty has fallen upon an agent who, during his former long residence in America, has been able to establish there numerous and sympathetic relations, the influence of which will be turned, as we do not doubt, to the advantage of the relations of good friendship which we are anxious to entertain with the Government of the United States.

Receive, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO E. D. MORGAN

PARIS, March 15, 1865.

My dear Governor:

I am greatly obliged to you for the four Vols. of the *Congressional Globe* and also for the Maps of the seat of war, which latter arrived yesterday. I beg you will make my acknowledgments to Major Delafield for his kindness and assure him of the great pleasure I experienced in finding that I had not passed entirely out of his recollection.

Your friend McClellan passed all of Uncle Sam's servants in Europe by on the other side.

I was sorry not to see him, for I would have been pleased to

revive the brief acquaintance commenced at Cleveland in 1861, when I had the honor for a few hours to represent the Majesty of the State of N. Y. at a convention of perplexed governors.

We feel here now as if the dove of peace was hovering over the U. S. and would soon descend. I think that event is more dreaded here now than the war was when it threatened the poor population with famine.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO WILLIAM HARGREAVES

PARIS, March 16, 1865.

My dear Friend:

. . . . . .

I wish I could have heard the debate in Parliament Monday night. Please tell Mr. Bright when you see him that I expect the patriotic mothers of the coming generation in America will name all their children of both sexes after him, and, what is the climax of terrestrial distinction, that all the hotels, coffee houses, and drinking saloons in the country will have his portrait over their doors in homage to public opinion: so that if he should ever redeem his promise of visiting America everything will look Bright to him.

I think much of the pretended apprehension of our unneighborly designs at the end of the rebellion is professed merely to delay a peace, and thus prevent the financial consequences of such an event. Every one who reasons at all must feel that the U. S. cannot afford to make an unreasonable claim for damages; neither can England afford to reject one that is reasonable. If either should attempt it, the great commercial interests of both would rush to the rescue of the sufferer. It is too late in the history of the world for two countries like England and United States to appeal to the last argument of kings for the settlement of an unliquidated account which would not indemnify either country for *one day's* alarm of war, nor for the loss of a single week's peaceful commerce. No, if there has been any possibility of getting a fight out of either nation it would have broken out two years

ago at least. We feel very sorry that Mr. Cobden should have been such a sufferer this winter. Oh! if with all his wisdom he could get wise enough to appreciate homœopathy; not your London homœopathy, for I never saw any there that I had any faith in. But if he would come on here and place himself under the care of old Dr. Hahnemann's son-in-law, the Baron de Bonnenhausen, he would multiply his days and prolong his usefulness. The "saddle-bags" can do nothing for him. If I did not regard him as a species of public property in which all Americans hold a great deal of stock, I should not presume to offer a suggestion which Mr. Cobden has already by his practice if not by words pronounced foolish.

I hope the news from America suits you and serves to give you a reason for the faith that has been in you about the ultimate fate of this rebellion. Though I have learned by experience the folly of attempting to prophesy, I have been inclined to doubt whether there will be another great battle. I do not think Lee is a man to shed blood in battle unless he saw some chance of its affecting the final result, and it is difficult to believe that anything he can hope to accomplish will amount to more than an effort of questionable benefit to improve the basis of negotiations.

Please remember me most respectfully to Mrs. Hargreaves and to all my friends about you; we often talk of you; we think of you oftener, and we pine for the time to come when we can meet once more to talk as in the beginning of our acquaintance, without the pressure of great political anxieties upon either of us.

Your sincere friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 17, 1865.

Sir:

I enclose the translation of an article which occupies the most prominent place in the *Avenir National* of the 15th in-

stant, in reference to an alleged misunderstanding between the Emperor of Austria and his brother of Mexico.

I have not seen the report elsewhere and have no means of determining the degree of value which deserves to attach to its statements. It seemed, however, to be worthy of your perusal.

Yours, etc.

Extract from the Avenir National, Paris, March 15

We hear from Vienna that a very active correspondence has passed between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Belgium, who became a mediator after the protest of the Emperor of Mexico against the act of renunciation of Miramar.

The Emperor of Austria was at first, as we have already stated, very much hurt at the protest and particularly at the communication of this family affair made to different foreign governments. It is said that even in the first moments of irritation there was a question at Vienna of interrupting all relations with Mexico, recalling the Austrian Ambassador as well as the Austrian volunteers recruited for the service of Maximilian.

The conciliatory efforts of the King of Belgium have succeeded in dissipating these clouds; a reconciliation has been made between the two brothers, and not only is there no longer a question of the recall of the Ambassador and the volunteers, but the departure of the last division of these soldiers, which had been suspended, has been authorized and fixed for the 15th March.

There is a question of a new Mexican loan to be negotiated at Vienna. The government of Mexico is so short of money that it is said the Austrian volunteers could only be paid by means of an advance made by France.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 17, 1865.

Sir:

Enclosed you will find a memorandum of a conversation which I had the honor to hold with his Excellency M. Drouyn

de Lhuys, on the 9th instant, in reference to the forcible surrender by General Mejia of refugees from the rebel army, referred to in your despatch No. 49.

The original of this memorandum was left yesterday with his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

Memorandum

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
March 15, 1865.

The undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, had the honor to submit verbally to his Excellency M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the following statement on the 9th inst.

It is stated upon official authority that General Mejia, commanding the Mejia Division of the French army at Matamoras, had arrested between twenty and thirty refugees from the rebel army in Texas; conducted them under the guard of a file of soldiers to the banks of the Rio Grande and delivered them into the hands of armed enemies of the United States. The pretext assigned, I am told, by General Mejia for the procedure was that they were offenders against the laws of the Confederacy and therefore liable to extradition. If so, General Mejia appears not to have been aware that the alleged criminals had a right to a fair trial and conviction before they could be surrendered to any government, and that he had then authority to surrender them only upon the suit of a government recognized by the Emperor of France, and to which the right of extradition had been conceded by treaty.

The refugees in question were seized by Mexican soldiers under the orders of General Mejia and delivered without any trial into the hands of an armed band of conspirators from Texas who represented no lawful government and who could not therefore have any political status in any Mexican tribunal, civil or military.

The undersigned, while appreciating the difficulty of enforc-

ing neutrality along the line which divides Texas from Mexico, where the temptations to violate it are so numerous, expressed the hope and expectation of his Government that the Government of France would not permit the conduct of General Mejia to pass without such instructions as would prevent the recurrence of a proceeding so liable to disturb the friendly relations of the two countries.

The undersigned availed himself of the same occasion to express to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs the regret of his Government at the exceptionable tone of the correspondence addressed by the United States Consul at Matamoras to General Mejia in reference to the surrender of these refugees, and to state that orders relieving the incumbent from his official charge were on the way to him at the time the correspondence was passing.

His Excellency M. Drouyn de Lhuys stated in reply to the undersigned that he had received no information whatever upon the subject referred to by the undersigned, save what the undersigned had communicated; that the subject should be taken into respectful consideration and that the officers of the Imperial Government in Mexico should be instructed to preserve a rigorous neutrality.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

JOHN BIGELOW.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, March 17, 1865.

Sir:

I have but a few minutes left before the closing of the mail to give you the result of a conversation which I held this afternoon with M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon topics which have formed a feature in several of your recent despatches.

After disposing of some business which is referred to in another communication to forward by this mail, I said to his

excellency, in substance, that it was now generally conceded by witnesses more impartial than any American could be expected to be, that the war which has been raging in my country was drawing to its close, and that peace and order were destined to be restored, sooner or later, to the whole and undivided United States; that between the present moment and the realization of that auspicious state of things, the friendly powers who had conceded to the domestic enemies of the United States belligerent rights would be obliged to withdraw them, it not being consistent with relations of amity between two nations that either should encourage rebellion in the territory of the other, by perpetuating a concession of belligerent rights, after the motives for making it had practically ceased. I went on to say that it was the part of good statesmanship, as of good surgery, to heal a wound so as to leave no scar; that from one cause and another the traditional friendship of my country people for France had become somewhat chilled, and though it was not for me to say when the government of France ought to withdraw the declaration conceding belligerent rights to the American insurgents, I did feel prepared to say that if the imperial government could furnish any evidence of its friendship to the United States as intelligible to my country people as that which had begun to weaken their doubts of it, it would be highly politic to do so as soon as possible.

I then referred his excellency to a suggestion which I had the honor to make at a previous interview, from which I thought he might extract the opportunity required. If the Emperor would refuse belligerent rights or asylum to vessels built and equipped in violation of the municipal laws of the country from which they take their departure, I felt persuaded it would be regarded, not only as the establishment of a sound and prudent principle of international law, but go very far towards removing impressions in regard to the feelings of France towards my country, of which the press was only a too faithful exponent. I suggested that this proposal did not involve any modification of the Emperor's declaration of September, 1861, and added such other considerations as I thought deserved to commend it to his excellency's attention.

His excellency replied, that so long as the war lasted, that is, so long as our government encountered serious resistance by land or water, France could not be expected to treat our adver-

saries merely as disorderly persons, but the moment the contest degenerated into what he called "small war" (*petite guerre*) it would be no longer war proper, and there would be no farther question of belligerent rights of neutrality.

He then went on to say that he had observed in the United States and in responsible quarters evidence of an *échauffement* against France, which he thought was without provocation, and which, if indulged or encouraged, might lead to unhappy (*fâcheuses*) results; that France had taken no side in our controversy, whatever absurd stories had been propagated to the contrary; and his excellency here referred with some warmth to newspaper allegations about the late duke of Sonora. "Throughout the war," he said, "we have endeavored to treat the United States as a whole, and to avoid any act which looked towards a recognition of any part rather than the whole of the country. We have tried to be prepared for whatever fate was in store for the country, as the result of this war, disposed to accept what Heaven should send as, on the whole, best for the country, but without any disposition to anticipate or control that result in any way whatever. That has been and will continue to be the position of France towards the United States." "If," said he, "you come to-morrow and inform me that peace has been concluded, I shall be happy to felicitate you. It would seem from your papers that your arms are prospered, but until you have crushed your adversaries we cannot deny to them the rights of belligerents."

His excellency then went on to say, in reference to my suggestion about denying belligerent privileges and asylum to vessels equipped in violation of municipal law, that that was a subject upon which he could not give an answer at once. It involved intricate questions of law and required reflection and study. It occurred to him, he said, that there might be some difficulty in ascertaining whether a vessel of war had violated the municipal law of a foreign country. I replied that I did not propose that the government should be at the trouble of procuring the proof, but that it should designate the kind of papers an armed vessel should be required to furnish in proof of her lawful and innocent character. I said that I urged the matter less for a protection against any damages the rebels may be able to do us than as evidence of the friendly disposition of his government. I added that the occasion for invoking such a rule would probably cease very soon, while the good

effects of the demonstration at the present moment would endure for ages.

His excellency seemed disposed to take the subject into serious consideration, repeated that it required study and reflection, and promised to bestow both upon it.

In the progress of his excellency's remarks I found occasion to state that circumstances have certainly occurred to excuse a portion of the irritation betrayed by my country people towards France, and I referred particularly to the two years of anxious suspense in which we were kept in regard to the ultimate destination of the vessels contracted for by Arman for the Confederates. "If," said I, "after the distinct pledge of your Excellency to Mr. Dayton, one of these vessels is permitted to leave France, and passes straight into the hands of our enemies, as the *Stonewall* did, your Excellency knows how difficult it is to satisfy the people of the United States that France has not been, to say the least, more indifferent than a friendly power should be about the damages which may result from her depredations." "For this reason," I said, "I had labored according to my means, both before and since I had been brought into official relations with his excellency, to have France remove every appearance of responsibility for the machinations of the rebels in France, and hence my earnest desire that the imperial government might take some step similar to what I had already suggested to prove to the universal intelligence of my country people its friendly disposition towards them."

When our conversation, of which, I think, I have given the spirit, had reached this point, I mentioned that I had just received a despatch from you, which treated upon some of the points referred to in our conversation, and, though not instructed to do so, I was at liberty to read it, and felt disposed to do so if his excellency was interested to hear it. He said, of course, that he would be very glad to hear anything from you, and I proceeded to read your despatch of the 27th February.

I may here mention, parenthetically, that in the progress of our conversation, and in reply to his reproaches against the irritating tone and imputations of our press and public men, I said that with us everybody's most idle thought and casual impression might find expression in one way or another through the press; but I ventured to affirm that his excellency

had no complaints to make of the government proper. "No," he replied, "our relations with your government have been very well. Mr. Seward has always been very amiable and considerate." But he went on to deprecate the possible consequences of a public sentiment so prompt as that shadowed forth by the press of the United States to seize upon and misconstrue the motives of the Emperor's government.

When I had finished reading your despatch he thanked me again for reading it, repeated substantially what he had said before, and nearly in the same language, about the attitude France had taken, and deemed it her duty to maintain towards the United States, insisting very emphatically that his government has never had relations with any fraction of our country, and that he sincerely desired such a termination of our trouble as might best conduce to our general prosperity.[1]

In respect to the instructions to be given to M. Châteaurenard, he seemed disposed to treat that suggestion as gratuitous. He thought it did not become France to turn harshly upon the Confederates now in their hour of disaster, and that, he said, France would not do; but when the war ended he hoped and expected to find the attitude of his government towards the United States the same as before the war.

This, though a very condensed and imperfect report of our conversation, which lasted nearly an hour, gives, I believe, the spirit of it faithfully. Much as it is condensed, I fear you will find it too long; but as it was conducted in a very friendly spirit, and covered a variety of topics which have not been before discussed between us, I have felt it my duty to reproduce it as fully as I could.

I am, sir, etc.

It was on the 4th of April, 1865, that my commission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary reached me, accompanied with the following note from the Secretary of State:

[1] It is not for me to say here to what extent the negotiations had been carried that had been going on between the Emperor and Commissioner Slidell since 1862, of which some specimens have been already given to the reader.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON. 18 March, 1865.

My dear Sir:

By this mail you will receive your commission and instructions as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France. It occurs to me that it may not be unacceptable to you to receive some indication of my views as to what it would be proper for you to say to the Emperor upon the occasion of your presentation of your letter of credence. It is under this impression that I enclose a draft of a speech for the occasion. This is not done, however, with any restrictions upon your own discretion, which will be freely exercised on the subject.

Believe me to be, etc.

[*Proposed Draft of Speech*]

In a short vicarious service here, I have been governed by the instructions which regulated the conduct of my lamented predecessor Mr. Dayton. The same instructions will be my guide in the performance of the high functions now fully confided to me. In behalf of the President and people of the United States I tender renewed assurances of their earnest desire to maintain and cultivate a generous, firm and lasting friendship with your Imperial Majesty and the people of France.

SALMON P. CHASE, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Accept my hearty congratulations upon your appointment as Minister. I am glad that ability and acquirements have been so recognized and honored.

For a long time I have thought of writing to you and asking two favors, but procrastination, which hurts so much in important, hurts also in unimportant matters. I do not know that I should have written at all had not your appointment prompted this note.

The two favors I would ask are, then:

First. That you will send me a copy of the Yellow Book and any publications which relate to current Jurisprudence. Is there a "Law Journal" at Paris? If so, I shall be glad to have it sent me.

Second. My daughter Nettie desires to make a collection of autographs and photographs, and I shall be greatly obliged to you if you will send me such as can be obtained without too much inconvenience. Please let me know the cost which compliance with these requests will occasion, and I will remit it promptly. If you will add your and Mrs. Bigelow's autograph and photograph I shall be much gratified.

The rebellion seems to be near its end. I do not forget that I thought so before when McClellan was marching upon Richmond and when Grant last spring began his advance. But the evidence is much clearer and stronger now. Indeed, it looks to me as if the gradual closing up of the Union armies around Lee must compel his surrender. I shall hardly be surprised to see it coerced without a battle. What a crown that would be of Grant's career!

The judicial blindness and hari-kari of the Democratic party are among the most astonishing of the astonishing features of our time. It might have retrieved everything last year, and it lost everything. It is one lesson the more of the danger of preferring injustice to justice.

When I first came to Washington, before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, I saw only one man who seemed to me to deserve to be called distinguished. That man was General Scott. Now looking over the world I see only one ruler who seems to me to merit the title of Great. That ruler is Napoleon. If he shall join to his extraordinary understanding and will a constant preference of justice to injustice, even a democrat may wish stability to his Empire.

But I did not mean to write all this when I began.

I send you a couple of newspapers which contain some things lately said by me which may have some interest for you.

What was said by Butler certainly will. I send also some recent prize decisions; and also, as a curiosity, a photograph of Agassiz in two attitudes or positions on the same plate. Such things are, I presume, familiar in Paris; they are rare here.

Renewing my congratulations and with earnest wishes that your new career may be both successful and brilliant, I remain,

Very faithfully yours

P.S. Please tell me in what esteem the work of Baron de Nervo—*Les Finances Françaises*—is held. Who is Baron de Nervo? And is there any Dictionary of Finance or Law which will explain terms now out of use better than the supplement to the Dictionnaire de l'Académie? If so, will you permit me to add it to my list of wants?

And one more. I should like to have the best edition of the Emperor's Life of Cæsar accessible to the general public. Will you send me one? Don't omit to send also a statement of cost.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 21, 1865.

Sir:

The absorbing concern of this government at the present moment is Mexico and how to reconcile the Chambers with the attitude which France occupies in her new colony.

To tide this cargo of embarrassments over the debate which is to commence soon in the Corps Législatif, the official journals are giving currency to a report that Mr. Lincoln had pledged himself to recognize the Emperor of Mexico immediately after the 4th of March. This story was started in the *Mémorial Diplomatique,* a copy of which I have sent to you by the last mail. The way for this statement has been prepared by an article in the *Constitutionnel* of the 17th instant, in which M. Lymerac undertakes to show the improbability of any intention on the part of our government to disturb the new

empire in Mexico after peace has liberated our military energies from more important duties. He concludes as follows:

"In conclusion, then, we assert that nothing justifies the apprehensions which some persons have entertained about the relations of France with the United States; nothing justifies the hostile intentions so gratuitously attributed to the American people with regard to Mexico. Everything, on the contrary, ought to lead the impartial observer to the conclusion that America, after the war which is desolating that country at the present moment, will think only of repairing her losses and enjoying as long as is possible the advantages of peace. Must it, however, be said that there is reason to expect, as certain journals have said or insinuated during the last few days, that the Government of Washington is about to recognize immediately the Emperor of Mexico? We believe the news to be premature; we may, however, add that the act is too much in conformity with a wise policy and the interests of the United States for it not to be eventually accomplished."

La France takes up the story and echoes it as follows:

"Many journals allow it to appear that according to recent news from the United States the Cabinet at Washington were not indisposed to acknowledge the new Mexican Empire. They add that President Lincoln has wished to abide the renewal of his presidential powers before entering into official relations with the government of Mexico, and that in consequence he would show a disposition to receive the Envoy sent by Maximilian to notify the President of his coming to the throne.

"We believe that such in effect is the direction of the policy which prevails in the United States, though a recognition so immediate as the late news from the United States announce is hardly to be expected, in our opinion."

As I am not aware of any news which justify these statements in their length and breadth, I presume they are prepared and circulated for the special edification of the Chambers.

The Commission to Rome to negotiate a concordat between the Pope and the Emperor of Mexico, of which Velasquez de Leon is the head, has reached Paris.

In consequence of a vague sort of contradiction given by the *Constitutionnel* to the reported discontent of the Emperor

of Austria with the mode in which his Mexican brother communicated his recent protest to the world, the *Avenir National* returns to the subject to-day with details almost too circumstantial not to be true. A translation of this article is annexed.

It is reported here that Cardinal Antonelli has been named Grand Cross of the new order of the Mexican Eagle.

The debate on the address will commence in the Corps Législatif on Monday next. M. Berryer has sent to me for some suggestions about the Mexican question, upon which he is preparing himself to speak.

I suggested the points which follow and which I thought might be developed by the friends or adversaries of the Government with equal advantage.

France can hardly expect to establish Maximilian in Mexico without the friendship of the United States, whatever she might hope to do with it.

Neither can she return from Mexico without humiliation so long as the attitude of the United States constitutes a passive menace to the new government.

Why does the United States occupy this attitude? Not because she covets Mexico, for if she had coveted it she would have kept it when she had it; not because she is jealous of France, because she knows that it is the population yet to go to Mexico who are to determine the political institutions which are to finally determine her position among the nations, and we have no interest which tempts us to forestall their choice, whatever it may be. If any nation 3000 miles distant with an Imperial form of Government can compete with a popular government on its border for favor with the inhabitants of Mexico, there is no reason why they should not. Neither is it from any unreasonable tenacity for what is called "the Monroe doctrine," for the government of the United States has not proclaimed any absolute conditions precedent to the acknowledgment of the new empire, nor have we any reason to believe that she is disposed to proclaim any. So long, however, as France recognizes two political powers in the United States it is hardly to be expected that President Lincoln should see but one in Mexico.

Then why this coldness on the part of the United States towards Maximilian?

The encouragement given directly and indirectly by France

to the enemies of the United States, especially in the dock-yards of the Empire.

I then recapitulated the history of Confederate intrigues here for the past two years, for which not a vessel had been confiscated nor a man punished by France.

Whether France then remains in Mexico or retires, it must be done through the conciliation of the United States. Mexico can have no credit or peace while she has no Minister at Washington; nor can France retire without humiliation so long as the United States maintains an attitude of passive hostility to the Mexican Empire.

The first duty therefore of the government is to satisfy the American people of the friendship of France by putting an end to sources of irritation at once illegal and unjust.

This would lead to a statement about the *Stonewall* and the *Rappahannock* which might force the government to make an explanation.

The President's inaugural has enjoyed a rare distinction for an American state paper of being correctly translated and almost universally copied here. This, I think, is less due to its brevity than to its almost inspired simplicity and Christian dignity, suggestive of comparisons eminently favorable to the august cause he represents.

I send an extract from an article in the *Opinion Nationale* on this subject, which expresses a feeling very generally felt.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

I have only just time to say that I have received your private note. I thank M. Drouyn de Lhuys for his kind interest in your behalf. You, however, are entitled to know, and he may well be informed, that your appointment as E. E. & M. P. preceded the arrival of your note several days, and so far as I am concerned several months.

Faithfully

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1865.

To Oscar Irving,
Dispatch Agent,
34½ Pine Street, [New York]:

Inform Mr. Bigelow at Paris by steamer of to-day that John Hay, Esq., has been appointed Secretary of Legation at Paris and will probably reach there in the course of a month or six weeks.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

BIGELOW TO HON. E. M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR

PARIS, 22d March, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit to you the accompanying proposals from Messrs. Lambert and Birabon, Dry Salters at Montevideo, to furnish beef rations to the United States upon what seem to be very favorable terms.

Mr. Lambert has shown me a sample of his beef which he says came from the La Plata. It appears to be as fresh and sweet as when it was slaughtered. He promised to send the same piece to you by this steamer.

If his proposal should receive any encouragement, he will go promptly to the United States and furnish such additional information in regard to his process of curing, its efficacy and such other matter as may be required preliminary to an arrangement.

I am, sir, etc.

LAMBERT & BIRABON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

To the HONORABLE STANTON,
Secretary of War at Washington,
United States of America.

Sir:

The firm of Lambert & Birabon, Salters at Montevideo, having their office at Paris, have the honor to tender their services to the

Government of the United States for supplying the Armies, Fleets, and Hospitals of the Republic with beef from the llanos of La Plata.

The above-mentioned firm begs to transmit to you a sample of their beef, salted fresh and *without bone.* Lambert & Birabon can, at the present moment, supply the Government of the Republic of the United States with ten millions of rations, and ultimately make arrangements at a reasonable term for the regular supply of its armies. The ration, composed of half a pound of beef without bone, can be delivered in any part of the United States at the rate of three cents per ration, or one shilling (American) per kilogramme, that is to say, sixty dollars a ton.

This beef, which is packed in bales of fifty kilogrammes, without any other covering than a piece of sacking, which is moreover useless for its preservation, may be easily conveyed in the rear of the armies, either on the back or in wagons. As to the savour of the meat, I forbear speaking of it in this letter, as you, sir, may easily appreciate it from the forwarded sample. With respect to its nutritive and hygienic qualities, I cannot do better than to refer to the Reports made thereon to the learned bodies of France, who have expressed their opinion in the most favorable way; and I beg to add only that before cooking the beef wants no other preparation than that of being allowed to steep for an hour or two in cold or tepid water, in order to remove the superfluous salts.

If you, sir, should think fit that in order to arrange definitely the adoption of our proposal one of us should go to Washington, we beg to have the honor to offer ourselves entirely at your orders; and ready to the commands of your Government.

We have the honor to be, etc.

24 Boulevard St. Denis,
Paris, March, 1865.

BIGELOW TO THE CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES AT MARSEILLES

Legation of the United States,
Paris, March 22, 1865.

Sir:

The Consul at Liverpool notifies me that an English brig called the *Fantine,* now lying at that port, has taken on board 8 large guns, each weighing 8.5 tons with equipments, and

about 100 tons of shot and shell; some 40 cases supposed to contain clothing and supplies, and a quantity of coal. She has been entered for Rio Janeiro, but the men say she is to go to Lisbon. She was expected to leave to-day. It is presumed that she is to join some Confederate vessel of war. I notify you of these facts that you may be on the watch for any vessel answering to the description *that may appear in the waters of your Consulate.*

Your very obedient servant

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your despatch of the 16th ultimo, No. 32, which is accompanied by a copy of your note of the 3d of the same month to M. Mignet, the perpetual secretary of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and a translation of his reply of the 11th in relation to the death of the Hon. Edward Everett. Your thoughtfulness in making the communication, and the manner in which it was done, are highly appreciated, as are the sensibility and respect evinced by the academy upon learning that death had stricken from its rolls our distinguished countryman.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your despatch of March 6, No. 44.

Unemployed politicians can often raise vehement disputes

upon mere surmises or accidents, as they can sometimes prohibit all debate upon the most questionable measures.

The French government can very well understand that our delay in filling the legation at Paris was involuntary, because that government has really found the appointment of a minister here was a duty attended by some embarrassment.

I thank you for the information you gave me concerning the negotiations of Maximilian at Rome for a concordat.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

Paris, March 24, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have nothing from Washington later than February 27th. We have news in the papers to the 12th of March.

I enclose two letters. One is from M. Malespine, the managing editor of the *Opinion Nationale,* in relation to an intrigue of Slidell's. I forbear to send the enclosure from the pen of Slidell's secretary, lest it might in some way compromise him. Its contents are correctly and fully enough stated by Malespine. Please burn MS. letter when you have read it. It only reached me to-day or I would have translated it. I dare not get another person to translate it.

The *Moniteur* publishes the President's inaugural to-day, the last and doubtless the most reluctant of the Paris journals to reproduce it.

It is very much admired here. Montalembert was delighted with it, and he is a man who makes public opinion in France.— I shall soon have an official communication to make to you in reference to the public exposition of 1867. . . .

Yours, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Private

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 25th March, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I have received your private note of the 9th inst., together with the two copies of the first volume of the Imperial Biography of Cæsar. As requested, I have delivered one of them to the President. I thank you in his name for that copy, and in my own for the one you have been so thoughtful as to designate for myself.

So far as I have read, the book is admirably written. I leave the moral of it to the critics of the nations in whose minds the theory of Government yet remains open to discussion.

I am glad to have your confirmation of the fact that the Duc de Morny was so constant in his advocacy of the cause of the United States.

Yours with great regard

SENATOR SUMNER TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, 27th March, 1865.

My dear Minister:

Accept my true congratulations on your appointment to represent our Country in France, and also the expression of my satisfaction that our important interests there are to be in such good hands.

Do all that you can to keep the peace; for with peace we shall conquer the world.

France is sensitive. I pray that it may not be touched through Mexico. Will not the Emperor withdraw?

If the French troops were at home, there could be nothing between us and France.

You will see, by the within letter from Messrs. Little and Brown, that they have under advisement the proposition to print Sir Henry Bulwer's speeches. I hope they will do it.

I had intended to write a letter instead of this letteret; but I cannot do otherwise now. *Bon jour!*

Sincerely yours

RUSSELL TO BIGELOW

18 Sumner Place, [London], March 28, 1865.

My dear Bigelow, my valued Friend:

When in the first place I tell you a most extraordinary & unexpected change for the better has occurred in my wife's health of body & mind, & that the dark cloud which had been hanging so long over us all has revealed a silver edging at last, you will, I am sure, sympathize in the thankfulness the family in which you & yours take so kindly an interest feel for such a blessed dispensation. The change has been as sudden as it has been great. . . .

I read your letter with very great interest, & if I could satisfy myself that there were more men of good sense, moderation & candour in the United States in particular or in the world in general than there were men of incapacity, violence & prejudice, the arguments it contained would have satisfied me that our apprehensions of a rupture with your government are ill founded. Recent debates have, I think, been of a conciliatory tone & temper & must have proved to you that there is very little disposition in the Houses of Parlt. or in the country to raise any question likely to occasion difficulties with the United States, but there is no denying that great fear of such an event prevails notwithstanding the language & acts of the President & his ministers. I conceive that fear to arise from the words of the press, from obscure indications of purpose in speeches & writings of public men, & above all from the consideration of the probable state of the country on the close of the Civil War. It is not therefore

from any deep design connected with the future course of capital or with the contingent claims of Federal citizens agt. our Govt. Delane has been actuated in directing the somewhat devious course of the *Times,* but from a real dread of a war provoked by the pride & violent passions of the anti-British parties in U. S., which shall make a refusal of insupportable demands a plea for hostilities. Remember no American statesman has ever yet had to deal with such a problem as the control & disposal of several hundreds of thousands of armed men under capable generals whose status, pay & profession end with the advent of peace. In Europe the soldier is paid & the general is rewarded, peace or war. In the U. S. peace would relegate the most of the armies to positions of obscurity & impecuniosity. It may be that the plan of settling the soldiers in the conquered States will succeed in averting the undoubted dangers of an unpaid army clamouring for reward & employment in the ears of the Govt., but of the danger no doubt. I do not believe there is any disposition now on the part of the United States troops & people to annex Canada, but assuredly it would not do for us to rely on its permanent absence. The debates on Canadian fortifications are to be regretted because the subject can not be discussed without the introduction of irritating topics & above all without exhibiting our own great fear of an unfavourable result. Having already in a very formal way repudiated all liability for the acts of the *Alabama,* it would be alarming indeed to find they were still held in reserve as grounds of formal demand, & I for one fear that commercial interests & every consideration of policy would not weigh in the balance against the angry passions of the people. England is very unpopular with North & South, & without stopping to inquire whether she has justly earned such unfavourable opinions, I may as an Englishman (of the Irish persuasion) express my conviction that it would be unsafe to trust to the influence of the large but not preponderating mass of the Americans who are opposed to the collection of debts by the fiery processes of the Court of Mars, should there be any difficulty between the two countries.

Every one is ready to acknowledge the moderation & equity of Mr. Lincoln in his relations with England, & the practical sense & sound policy of Mr. Seward in spite of his *grandæ et verbosæ epistolæ,* which are sometimes more creditable to his

physical vigour of composition & his love of scholastic dialectics than to his sagacity; but we are afraid of the new power which stands armed behind the Govt. & the people, which has not yet shown its face to the outer world, & we dread the influence of old prejudices on your councils. There is not a man in England who derives any pleasure from the contemplation of your Atlantic cities in flames in event of an invasion of Canada as suggested by the *Times,* & altho' many of the middle classes, the bankers, commercial people & others of the kind, & many of the country gentry would not be averse to a war in which they think they are certain to have the best of it, I believe, powerful as they are, they would be outvoted ten to one by other sections. They are the classes which have been most profuse in expressions of sympathy for the South & most hostile to you of the United States, & they are angered exceedingly to find their prophecies as to your financial exhaustion & military failure have been so signally falsified.

If I were to be proud of anything, as I said to you before, it would be of the instinct (for I cannot call it the result of reasoning or knowledge) which led one like myself to predict that your monetary system would last your time & supply your needs & that your resources & resolution would enable you to beat down the Southern leaders in the field. I have written & spoken in the same strain for the last four years, but I suppose Bull Run Russell would be tarred & feathered like a Secesh editor in any town in New England, as he certainly would be "railed" or worse in any hamlet of niggerdom. It was with some pain I heard a Mr. Crowdy, who was returned from a tour in the United States, say Mr. Seward has justified Stanton's refusing me permission to accompany McClellan because I was a bitter enemy to the Federal Govt. & people. However, that is *nil ad rem.* If we could be assured that the United States had no design on Canada, John Bull would rest very happily in his bed; but just now he is in a very much perturbed condition of mind because he is called on to spend money on very doubtful objects which he cannot, however, wholly disregard so long as he desires to keep up his reputation as a man of honour & of courage. Much of this uneasiness comes from Canada, where they are really in fright. Our people don't care much about the place, & yet they can't give it up in the face of the world simply because they may be called on to fight for it. Canada must go some

day. When we took it 100 years ago we little thought our great victory would result in Bunker Hill & Saratoga, & ever since we feel we have had the elephant on board. Our soldiers don't like it—our statesmen are not fond of it—our people are perfectly callous as to it—& yet the place will cling to us with its cold clammy arms, & we may say, "Nec cum te nec sine te possum vivere." Can't something be done to knock the armament mania on the head on both sides? We hear of dreadful deeds at Rouse's Point & Michilimackinaw & so on, & Montreal is frightened out of its wits.

. . . . . .

I am going to take Alice over to Paris after Easter for a week or so, when we shall talk together whenever you have a moment to spare from the great affairs of state. They could not have done better than have left you where you are, except they confirmed your succession to Mr. Dayton, & the U. S. would then be happy in the selection of the minister to France & England both.

As you are not jealous, I will ask you to give my love to Mrs. Bigelow & to the dear Grace & to remember me to all the children, whose memories go so far back into the time past of our happy acquaintance—commencing auspiciously with potatoes at Basle, *ne c'est pas?* . . .

Have I exhausted all but your kindness?

Ever yours warmly

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

Department of State,
Washington, March 28, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I give you back Mr. Russell's letter. We shall have no trouble with Great Britain. Delane ate of the "mad root" at the beginning of our civil war, and the disease is hard for him to shake off now. That last debate in Parliament showed that a nation cannot be held under the lead of a lunatic.

Faithfully yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 28, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 14th of March, No. 55, has been received, and I have read with much interest the papers which accompany it, and which illustrate the disquietude now prevailing in Paris.

Fortunately, I have in my despatch of 15th instant, No. 71, explained to you the views and sentiments which our military and political situation suggests. We want our national rights. We are not looking for ulterior national advantages, or aggrandizement, much less for occasions for retaliating in other forms of hostility against foreign states. We are not propagandists, although we are consistent in our political convictions.

I am, sir, etc.

BRADFORD R. WOOD TO BIGELOW

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
COPENHAGEN, 30 Mar., 1865.

My dear Sir:

On the 25th I sent you the French copies certified. I now, on reflection, send you the Danish *certified,* the translations of which have already been sent. The Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (the Minister being sick) agreed to send these same papers to the Danish Legation in Paris, and to inform the French and Spanish Governments that the *Stoerkodder,* or *Stonewall,* never belonged to the Danish Government, and that she got out from here by fraud.

I remain, etc.

BIGELOW TO JOHN G. NICOLAY

PARIS, March 31, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I learned yesterday with unmixed pleasure that you were to succeed me in the Paris Consulate. I only regret that your departure from the U. S. is to be so long deferred. The Spring months in Paris are the most pleasant, and the summer the most favorable for establishing yourself in an apartment. I will answer your questions in their order as fully as I can. I think the labors of the Consulate proper are about five times as great as they were before the war, but with proper organization and assistance they do not involve necessarily any great increase of labor to you. I occupied myself mostly with things not strictly within the range of Consular duty. Much of that work has followed me to the Legation, where it will probably remain, and much more will probably cease, as our prospects of peace at home brighten. All things considered for the four years to come, there is not a pleasanter office in the gift of the govt. for a bachelor,[1] in my opinion, than that to which you are appointed.

I always had a Vice-Consul, a clerk and a messenger, occasionally employing outside assistance for copying, translations, digesting statistics, etc. They were all men of my own choice, in whom I had perfect confidence. That organization remains, with only a single change. Mr. Brooks, the Vice-Consul, has been replaced by Mr. Tuck, a Consular clerk, who has been appointed Vice-Consul since my departure and Acting Consul. He will draw the full salary until you arrive. He will then receive $1000 as Consular pupil and will do the same service formerly done by Mr. Brooks, to whom I paid $1200 or thereabouts. That will be so much saved to you. Mr. Gould, who is invoice clerk, receives $1000 and earns it. It would be difficult to replace him. The messenger, David Fuller, is a colored boy, whom I inherited from my predecessor. He is worth his weight in gold. He receives about $30 a month, but a good deal of that he earns by doing postman's

[1] If Mr. Nicolay was married before his appointment to the Paris Consulate, I was not aware of it.

work, such as distributing documents about town, when there are any to be distributed, and for which he receives what the post would receive, and deducts it from the allowance of the Consul.

I think you can satisfactorily live here as a bachelor for from $2500 to $3000. For that you can have a nice apartment, keep a man servant, entertain when necessary at a club, and enjoy all the rational pleasures of the Metropolis. You will not be expected to entertain generally, as you have no family. I never considered entertaining a part of my duty as Consul. What I did in that way was partly done for my pleasure and partly to assist in stemming the current of public opinion, which was running so strongly against our country during most of my term. You will probably have the happiness to find the direction of the current reversed by the time you get here, if I may judge by what I see around me every day.

Counting your salary at		$5000
Your income from Agencies say		$1000
Your income from unofficial services . .		$1000
		$7000
Deduct taxes	$150	
Expenses for office	$1500	$1650
		$5350

The first year you can live for $2000 and as near that afterwards as you please, though you will probably spend $3000.

I think you will be able to put away $2500 each year into 5-20s if you choose.

You will have no difficulty whatever in getting off for a month or so at a time after you have got the business once well in hand, and till then you will be fully occupied in mastering Paris.

Now, in conclusion, and without wishing the President any harm—for I suppose he must be a sufferer by your coming—let me beg you to come out without delay. It would be a pity to lose the spring in Paris, independent of which, the sooner there is a more mature head in the Consulate the better.

Let me recommend you to familiarize yourself, before starting, with the Consular business by visiting the Consular bu-

reau and ascertaining from the clerks what are the common errors of Consuls, and how they may be avoided. You will be a long time in learning here what you might learn there in a few hours. Let me recommend you then to come quick, and I will do all I can to render your residence pleasant to yourself and profitable to the country.

Enclosed please find a note just received from M. Laboulaye, which it may gratify the President and Mr. Seward to see; if so, please show it to them. If you need any further information, don't fail to write to me.

Yours very truly

P.S. The telegraph reports that I have been named Minister. My friends incline to think that for once it has told the truth about an event in the U. S. I am always skeptical about such matters; until I see the documents, therefore, I shall reserve the expression of my unworthiness until the folly of the Govt. has been proved.

LABOULAYE TO BIGELOW

Thursday, 30th March, 1865,
34 Rue Taitbout [Paris].

Dear Sir:

I thank you for your *envoi.* The discourse of Mr. Lincoln will make a mark in history. One cannot speak to a free people with more dignity and grandeur. I have seen the Count de Montalembert, who shares my admiration of it.

Accept my very sincere compliments on your nomination. No one is more capable than yourself of maintaining union between the two countries. This I hope will be an easy thing to do. Sherman is getting for you all who yet hesitate, and I do not intend to say more but of your approaching successes. I have no need to tell you how happy I am in this victory of liberty and humanity.

I subscribe myself, with a perfect sympathy,

Devotedly yours

BIGELOW TO HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

PARIS, March 31, 1865.

Dear Sir:

The enclosed copy of correspondence between M. Grenier and myself will explain itself. M. Grenier is a gentleman of some literary standing, one of the collaborateurs of the *Temps* and editor of the *Archives Diplomatiques*. I know nothing of the translation in question.

I suppose you will find light upon that subject in the letter enclosed from M. Grenier.

I need not say that I shall be proud to do what I can to secure for the people of France, among whom it is my duty to find a temporary home, a new pleasure and for your crown a new ornament.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

The foregoing letter was the result of a correspondence between M. Grenier and myself in regard to the publication in France of a translation of Mr. Longfellow's "Evangeline."

WILLIAM L. DAYTON[1] TO BIGELOW

LONDON, BRITISH HOTEL,
JERMYN ST., March 31, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Please accept my kind congratulations upon your appointment as full minister, which I had the pleasure of seeing in yesterday's paper.

I see by the papers, too, that our old friend the *Stonewall* has escaped from Lisbon and that the Portuguese forts had

[1] Son and Second Secretary of the late Minister.

fired upon the *Niagara,* &c. Judging from more detailed reports of the occurrence, I suppose it originated in some misunderstanding and do not suppose it will lead to any difficulty between the two governments. Am I right in my supposition, or is it a *casus belli?*

Upon our arrival in London on Tuesday evening last we found that Mrs. Stuart's former lodger, the Honble. Lady Cust, was still occupying the apartments I had engaged. Poor Mrs. Stuart was very much concerned about the matter, and I beg to say at once that I do not find any fault with her action. She had engaged rooms for us in the British Hotel and has in every way been very willing and kind to us since our arrival. Sir Edward Cust, the husband of the unfortunate Lady Cust and at the same time Master of Ceremonies, &c., to the Queen, I pronounce to be an impertinent, ill-bred branch of British nobility, and I have taken the trouble substantially to communicate the same fact to him, which information, if he has never heard it before, may be of some service to him in his future life.

I forgot to mention to you, when I saw you last, that the day before I left Paris I sold my large American carriage (which you had kindly offered to take charge of for me) to Dr. Evans for 1000 francs. In case your authority should be necessary to enable the Doctor to take the carriage away from the stable, where it now is, will you please authorize him to do so?

When I saw you on Monday you were kind enough to promise me a letter of introduction to Mr. Seward. Will you please forward it to me at the "British Hotel. Jermyn St., St. James"?

I have seen Mr. Adams, but learnt nothing specially interesting to communicate. He has as yet received no final answer to his application to be relieved, forwarded to Washington some 5 months ago.

Very respectfully yours

VIII

THE DEATH OF RICHARD COBDEN

HARGREAVES TO BIGELOW

Craven Hill Gardens,
2nd April, 1865.

My dear Friend:

THE telegram will have told you, long ere this reaches you, the great loss we have sustained. The world's great benefactor and our most dear friend is no more. Shortly after I wrote you an unfavorable change came over Mr. Cobden, and on Friday further medical aid was called in. The report was, however, in no way alarming—"No organic disease of heart or lungs." The following night still bad, as is generally the case with asthmatic symptoms, and some signs of *incoherence.* Saturday no better, and at midnight *unconsciousness,* which continued with slight interruption until the close. No pain happily, and the end perfectly tranquil.

Mr. Bright was at his side. My wife has been with Mrs. Cobden this afternoon—she struggles to be brave, but the reaction will, I fear, be a terrible one. The Doctors do not seem to have been apprehensive of danger, but there must have been something *vitally* wrong from the commencement.

Believe me, faithfully yours

The news of Mr. Cobden's death was brought to the attention of the House of Commons on the 3d of April and tenderly commented upon by Lord Palmerston and by Mr. Dis-

raeli. The latter characterized him as "without doubt the greatest political character *the pure middle class of England* has yet produced." Mr. Bright evidently did not feel himself sufficiently the master of his emotions to address the House, but, possibly provoked by the limitations given to the fame of his deceased friend by the last speaker, controlled himself sufficiently to give utterance to these few words:

Sir, I feel that I cannot address the House on this occasion; but every expression of sympathy which I have heard has been most grateful to my heart. The time which has elapsed since, in my presence, the manliest and the gentlest spirit that ever tenanted or quitted a human form took its flight, is so short that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of speaking before some portion of my countrymen, the lesson which I think may be learned from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say that, after twenty years of most intimate and almost brotherly friendship with him, I little knew how much I loved him until I found that I had lost him.

BIGELOW TO HARGREAVES

Paris, April 3, 1865.

My dear Friend:

Can it be true—what I have this instant read in the *Moniteur* —that Mr. Cobden is dead? I suppose it must be true, for no journal would carelessly publish such a statement. It has given me a shock which has unfitted me for everything. I had not dreamed of his case being at all critical. How does Mrs. Cobden bear it? What a blow it will be to her and to her children! Do tell me about his last illness. Was he expecting such a result when it occurred? What was the state of his affairs? Is his family comfortably provided? Do write me all about it.

Yours in great haste

HARGREAVES TO BIGELOW

Craven Hill Gardens,
5th April, 1865.

My dear Friend:

I should have written you more fully on Sunday last, had not brain and hand been powerless under the effect of the blow which had fallen so suddenly upon us all. You ask how the family will be left. I think comfortably, but I have not learned any particulars as yet. I know, however, that certain portions of the property have very much improved in value, and that Mr. Cobden was easy on such matters during the last two years. But, however this may be, he has left private friends who will take care of those he loved so well. Certain *Ministerial* friends have proposed to secure an annuity to Mrs. Cobden, but I may tell you, in confidence, that Mr. Bright has protested against its being done, and in this he will be supported by all Mr. Cobden's most attached friends, who are happily in a position to do anything of the kind that may by any chance be needed, without seeing the name of Cobden on the pension list. No, such a vote, and moved by such a *Minister,* would be enough to wake the dead. Our dear friend's last hours were calm and painless. A drowsiness came over him about midnight of Saturday, which saved his tender heart the pangs of parting, and those around him were scarcely aware he was gone, until the "moonlight of death" had passed over his countenance. And so, my dear friend, we must gather closer the ties that are left to us, although the world can never be to some of us quite as heretofore.

Give our united kind regards to Mrs. Bigelow, and believe me,

Ever yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

April 3, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

Mr. Dayton, late Assistant Secretary of this Legation, has left Paris and in a few weeks will be on his way to the United

States. When he arrives there he proposes to avail himself of an early opportunity of calling to pay his respects to you.

In announcing Mr. Dayton's departure and the vacancy of his office I deem it right to express to you my profound sense of the loss which the Legation has sustained by this event.

During the brief period that we have been associated I feel that I do no one any injustice in saying that he has been my sole reliance. Cumbered as he was with many cares incident to his approaching departure, not to speak of the supreme affliction with which he has so recently been tried, he was always ready for any duty which the service required, and to which he brought a degree of skill, tact and judgment beyond his years. His amiable manners and dignified deportment have secured for him the unanimous respect of his country people here, of whose feelings, I am sure, I am no more than a faithful interpreter when I say that they all desire for him the career of distinction and happiness of which he has given, during his official residence in Paris, abundant promise.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 4, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 17th March, No. 61, has been received. I have to commend and thank you for your attention to the warnings which you received from our consul in England in regard to the ram *Cheops*.

It is to be expected that the treasury of the rebels at home and their credit abroad will completely collapse under the blows they are receiving from our land and naval forces. After that collapse, we may reasonably expect that European ship-builders and merchants will be as much disinclined to render further aid to our enemies as we are opposed to such unprincipled intervention.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 4, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose copies of certain documents received from the Hon. Bradford R. Wood, minister resident of the United States at Copenhagen, in part reply to my application for such information as might be within his reach in relation to the delivery of the steamer *Stonewall,* alias *Olinde,* to officers of the insurgent navy.

I presume that you must have already received from Mr. Wood, in his account of his personal intercourse with the Danish government, something more satisfactory, if it had anything more satisfactory to offer.

The position of the question at this court has undergone no change since my last communication about it. I understand from our consul at Nantes that an investigation is going on at that place with the view of punishing three of the parties concerned in supplying the *Stoerkodder* with coal, provisions, and munitions within the waters of France. It remains to be seen with what vigor the majesty of the law will be asserted. I should attach more importance to such a demonstration if it were directed against the notorious head offender, Arman, instead of being directed against some of his instruments.

The *Stonewall* left Ferrol for Lisbon, whence, after a few days' detention, she sailed for parts unknown. No doubt you have received full particulars of her stay at and departure from both these places from our representatives at Madrid and Lisbon.

It is possible they may not have been able to send you a list of the officers of the *Stonewall;* I therefore send you one, which I believe to be authentic and complete up to the 20th of March last.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosure]

List of Officers of Confederate Pirate Stonewall, March 20, 1865

Captain T. J. Page, from Virginia; R. R. Carter, first lieutenant, from Virginia; Geo. S. Shryock, second lieutenant, from Kentucky; Geo. T. Bochart, third lieutenant, from Savannah, Ga.; E. G. Reed, third lieutenant, from Virginia; Samuel Barron, Jr., third lieutenant, from Virginia; E. Green, surgeon, from Virginia; C. W. Curtis, paymaster, from South Carolina; W. P. Brooks, chief engineer, from South Carolina; J. W. Herty, assistant surgeon, from Georgia; W. W. Wilkenson, master, from South Carolina; W. Hutcheson Jackson, first assistant engineer, from Baltimore; J. C. Cosh, second assistant engineer, from Texas; John W. Dukeheart, boatswain, from Baltimore; J. W. King, gunner, from North Carolina; J. Mather, carpenter, from Maryland; William Savage, master's mate, from Maryland; William Baynton, paymaster's clerk, from Florida; John W. Prior, sergeant of marines, from Virginia.

WOOD TO BIGELOW

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
COPENHAGEN, March 25, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I herewith send you copies of certain papers received from the Danish government, those in French certified. . . . It is very possible that if the Danes could have got the *Stoerkodder* in time they would have owned her, but they had no use for her after June, 1864,[1] and availed themselves of her defects to get rid of her. As they did not suspect anything, and wished to be obliging to Arman, who had here the reputation of being a very responsible man and one of the Emperor's right-hand men, they allowed themselves to be imposed on by Arman's correspondent, "Puggaard," a Danish merchant residing here, and who unquestionably knew that this ship was sold to the Confederates when he applied for the use of the Danish flag, as he had advanced money on her when she was being built for the Confederates. And what is more, I have no doubt

[1] The final appropriation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia.

the Danish government now know of Puggaard's complicity in the matter. Arman's intention in sending this ship here was to get her out of France and into the hands of the Confederates, and he deceived the French minister. I have the police on the watch for the men you advised me of.

I remain, very truly, your obedient servant

I have made the request, and it is to be complied with, that the Danish government inform the governments of France and Spain that they never owned the *Stoerkodder*. Will Spain let this ship go to sea? If she does I hope she may lose Cuba.

W.

In the fall of 1888 and shortly after the publication of my "France and the Confederate Navy: An International Episode," I received a letter from the late Caleb Huse, who had held a high rank in the Confederate army and who had been one of Jefferson Davis's purchasing agents and confidential correspondents in Europe during the Civil War. By this letter the reader will understand the means by which Denmark was relieved from any obligation to accept Arman's steamer of so many names, and why the steamer was unable to make the speed in her voyage from France to Copenhagen that was required by the Danish contract. The de Rivière referred to in this letter was Baron H. Arnous de Rivière, a French officer of engineers, who was in Santiago and Valparaiso during the then recent war in Chili, in which our Minister Egan was compromised and recalled. The baron was said to own mines in the Andes and on the Bolivian side, and also had large interests in Iquique. We had been by chance fellow-passengers from New Orleans on a steamer up the Mississippi for several days in 1855, on my return from Hayti. He afterwards became actively interested in the Confederate conspiracy for disunion.

COLONEL CALEB HUSE TO BIGELOW

HIGHLAND FALLS, N. Y., Oct. 11, 1888.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

I have read your "France and the Confederate Navy," and with some interest, as you may suppose from the following: One day as I was walking along Bishopsgate, London, a hansom cab pulled up at the curb, and the passenger called me by name and asked me to get in. I did so, and was immediately asked if I "would like to do something worth while." I replied, "What is it?" and then de Rivière, whose name occurs several times in your book, said that the Ram which had been taken to Copenhagen was still there, that he had conceived and partially carried out a plan for getting her into the hands of the Confederates, but that Bullock would not coöperate with him; would I? I replied that I was no sailor and did not see how I could undertake what so clever a man as Bullock thought impracticable—for he was a man of great ability, and I did not see what I could do. De R. then went on to say that the ship had been taken from Bordeaux to Copenhagen; that a trial trip had been made of her there, which was to determine whether or not the Danes should take her; that this trial would have proven entirely successful had not he, de R., deliberately spoiled the trip, and that, too, without the knowledge of Arman, who was on board, and who was very desirous to have the Danes take her. He then went on to say how he had invited the party all down to lunch, then excused himself, and had gone and himself opened a bilge-cock, so as to partially fill one of the compartments and so affect the speed, although there might be kept up a full head of steam and not even the Captain or the Engineer know what had been done.

When the party came on deck after lunch, they were all surprised—and no one so much as Arman—to find the ship running much slower than when they were on deck before. De R. assured me that not even then did any one but himself know the cause of the falling off in speed. He said he had deliberately planned to get the ship into the hands of the Confederates, and now, said he, Bullock declines to act. Now there is the ship. She has on board guns capable of piercing anything the U. S. have at sea, and her armor is invulnerable against any gun they have afloat.

De Rivière is one of the most accomplished and unscrupulous men I have ever met. He is French, but speaks English with remarkable purity and force.

I was impressed with what the man said, and replied that I would go to Paris and consult Mr. Slidell. Our conversation was continued after getting to his hotel at the West End, and that evening we went to Paris. The next morning I drove at once to Mr. Slidell's and told him the story. He said that de Rivière had proposed to Bullock to take the ship, but that Bullock had declined.

I think B. was really afraid to deal with so unmitigated a scoundrel as he believed de R. to be.

I left Mr. Slidell and went to my house at Auteuil and told my wife of the affair, and that I proposed to go in the ship if she and Mr. Slidell approved. She replied with a laugh: "Why, you are no sailor, you know nothing about a ship, and you are always seasick." Then she added seriously: "But you have had no chance in this war, and I can see that here is an opportunity to gain no little credit. I should be willing to have you go if one man were here to go with you, Major Pierson. He is a sailor and is devoted to you." I at once said: "That, of course, is impossible. Pierson is in Texas." We sat down to breakfast; it was then about 11 o'clock. In a few minutes we were astounded to have Pierson enter the room. He had just arrived from Texas by way of Havana. I told him the story, and he at once consented to accompany me. We went at once to Mr. Slidell's, and from there to Erlanger's, where I arranged for 1000 in gold to be ready for me that evening at the Northern R. R. Station, and at the appointed time was at the Station with Pierson.

We started, carrying our bag of gold ourselves, and I never realized before how heavy gold is; a man would soon tire of carrying all the time even a small salary in gold. De Rivière went to Copenhagen and arrived there before us. Arman was also there. What happened to prevent the plan from being consummated I never understood, but it was thought best to return to Paris without appearing to be actively engaged about the ship.

My plan was simply to sail the ship to Charleston or Wilmington, and I have no doubt one or two things would have happened—either we should have gone to bottom or got there.

Finally Bullock undertook the business himself. Page and

a number of Navy Officers who had been intended for the ship were got together, and the ship sailed as you tell the story in your book.

But Page was an unconscionable time getting ready, and when ready was afraid to take the direct course. What with his delay in starting, his taking time to repair, and then going by the long Southern passage, he got no farther than Havana, when he found the war was at an end. He gave up the ship to the Cuban authorities as you state.

My ignorance of the danger of taking the direct course would have caused me to take it, and as I had one single idea of getting the ship into a C. S. port, I think I should have succeeded.

Bullock was intensely annoyed at Page's fogy slowness, and condemned his taking the Southern passage.

I kept no note of the affair and cannot give any dates, but my visit to Copenhagen was some weeks before the *Stonewall* sailed from that port, and had I sailed to the American Coast, I must have arrived, if at all, in time for at least the *time* of the ending of the war to be delayed, and possibly the final result would have been different. There is no denying that the *Stonewall* was a very formidable ship, and it is safe to say that her arrival in a C. S. port would have given new life to the South, and it is hardly too much to believe that under a skillful commander she would have opened the principal ports at once and even had things her own way in offensive operations.

I can honestly say that I am very glad that everything turned out as it did.

My action in the matter offended Bullock intensely. We had been warm friends. I saw him but once or twice afterwards, on one of which occasions he simply—and very rightly—said: "Well, you might have had confidence enough in me to have told me what you intended doing. Your success would have been my disgrace. I deserved better treatment at your hands." All of which was true, and he was justly offended. But what was to be done must be done quickly, and I had been my own master so completely for the whole war, and had succeeded so completely in everything I had undertaken, that I had come insensibly to run everything by my own will, taking counsel of nobody.

You say, p. 194: "Had the war continued but a month

longer, the *Stonewall* would have had possession of Port Royal, and if two months longer, the City of New York would probably have lain at her mercy."

Had the *Stonewall* arrived at all under my command, she would have been on the coast *at least* two months before she did arrive at Havana; indeed, I believe she would have appeared on the coast by the middle of February.

Pardon the length of my note. I have only to add that you do not look upon the Emperor's acts exactly as I do. He was only a puppet in the hands of the Priests throughout the whole matter, Mexico and all.

That the Emperor did in so many words invite Slidell to come to France and build ships, I have no doubt, even after reading your book.

What prevents this being seen clearly in S.'s dispatches is S.'s own vanity.

Yours truly

SUMNER TO BIGELOW

Washington, 4 April, 1865.

My dear Minister:

Here is the final answer of Little & Brown. What can I do? I will write to New York.

If the solicitude of the French Legation here is a reflection of Paris, you must have anxious people about you. Mexico causes much serious thought. Lord Palmerston's somersault of the 13th March is not calculated to calm French sensibilities here.

The feeling yesterday, when it was known that Richmond was ours, broke forth everywhere with regard to England & France. Much that was said has been suppressed. There was a general expression that "our little bill," as it was called, should be presented forthwith to England, and that Louis Napoleon should be warned to leave Mexico. *Probation* and peace: these are my watchwords; and the President agrees.

There are generals in our army ready to join Benito Juarez. I suppose the rebel generals will be too happy in such an opportunity.

Ever yours

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 5, 1865.

Sir:

I give you for your information a copy of a note which I have recently received from M. Geoffroy, chargé d'affaires of the Emperor, concerning a projected universal exhibition of productions, of agriculture, manufactures, and the fine arts, to be opened at Paris on the 1st of May, 1867, under the direction and supervision of a commission in which his serene highness the Prince Napoleon will preside.

You will inform M. Drouyn de Lhuys that the President of the United States regards the project thus described with great favor, as well because of the beneficial influence it may be expected to exert upon the prosperity of the nations as of its tendency to preserve peace and mutual friendship among them.

The Prince Napoleon is most favorably known on this side of the Atlantic, and his connexion with the exhibition will increase its proper prestige in the eyes of the government and people of the United States.

What the executive government can do by way of concurrence in the noble purpose of his Majesty will, therefore, be very cheerfully done. The design and arrangements will be promptly promulgated. For the present, you will confer with M. Drouyn de Lhuys as a special agent of this government, and will bring yourself into near relations with the prince.

This is as far, however, as the President is able to proceed without special legislative authority. Application for that authority will be made to Congress when it shall have convened. In the mean time this department will receive and give due attention to any suggestions which the government of France may desire to offer with a view to a complete success of the contemplated exhibition.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 7, 1865.

Sir:

I beg to enclose a translation of an article which appeared in the *Mémorial Diplomatique* of Saturday last, purporting to give the basis of certain peace negotiations in progress in Canada, between persons representing the United States and the Confederate insurgents. The quasi-official character of this hebdomadal satisfies me that the government wish the facts there stated to be believed. I was confirmed in this opinion when I saw the article promptly reappear in all the official journals.

I am, sir, etc.

Translated from the Mémorial Diplomatique of April 2, 1865

Private advices from a reliable source inform us that negotiations with a view to peace are again carried on between the north and south of the United States.

The scene of these negotiations has thus far been in Toronto, on the frontiers of Canada, where there are always large numbers of northern and southern politicians, and where the confederate agents of the two governments met.

After discussing for a long time the conditions of a possible reconciliation, the agent of the federal government left for Washington, bringing with him an outline of a treaty on the following basis:

1. Restoration of the Union.
2. Abolition of slavery.
3. A general convention of all the States to be held for the purpose of introducing into the Constitution amendments such as the formal and explicit recognition of State rights, the defence to Congress to make any laws relative to the colored population after the abolition of slavery, and a modification of the electoral system with regard to presidential elections.

The first of these amendments would put an end to all discussions concerning State sovereignty; the second would finally settle the condi-

tion of the colored people; and the third should be so contrived as to diminish electoral agitations by making it impossible for one of the two sections of the country to elect a President without the assent of the other.

GEORGE P. MARSH, MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT TURIN, TO BIGELOW

TURIN, April 5, 1865.

My dear Sir:

. . . . . .

Our military news seem extremely good, but I am disgusted with these perpetual rumors of a disposition to conclude a peace with the rebels on terms worse even than recognition. I am afraid there is some fire under all this somewhere, and I pray rather for more defeats than for more conciliation, of which, God knows, we have already had far too much.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 6, 1865.

Sir:

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 72, announcing my appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at this Court, with the enclosures therein specified.

I beg through you to testify to the President my profound sense of the honor he has done me. While endeavoring to meet the responsibilities of my new position to the best of my ability, I hope I shall never permit myself to forget the peculiar circumstances which have conspired to clothe me with a distinction of which the Republic has so many persons more worthy. I shall return my Commission to the President with more alacrity than I received it, the moment those circum-

stances cease to justify the preference with which he has been pleased to honor me.

I placed a copy of my letters of credence in the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday and requested him to ascertain when it would be agreeable to the Emperor to give me an opportunity of presenting the original in person. His Excellency was pleased to avail himself of the occasion to assure me of the satisfaction of his government with my appointment as Minister in a way to strengthen my hopes of rendering my future official residence here useful to our country.

I have the honor to remain, sir, etc.

D. FORBES CAMPBELL TO BIGELOW

45 Dover St., Piccadilly, W.,
London, 6 April, 1865.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

Allow me to congratulate you on your appointment as permanent Minister in Paris.

As you had the kindness to transmit, at my request, to your Government a statement of the hard case of my poor clients, the *owners* of the innocent barque *Springbock,* I, on the principle that "one good turn deserves another," send you some intelligence which otherwise would not reach you for weeks to come, and which may *now* be useful to you and your Government. Of course you will treat this as *confidential.*

His Excellency, Señor Arangoaz, the accredited Minister of the Mexican Emperor Maximilian at London and Brussels, forwarded his resignation by the packet of the 3d inst. from Southampton. Nothing on earth, he assures me, will induce him to continue at these posts. He anticipates frightful confusion in Mexico and a disgraceful upshot, probably the abdication of Maximilian and his return to Europe. There can be no doubt that Maximilian rues his acceptance of the thorny crown of Mexico. He reckoned on recognition by the United States, having been assured by General Forey that he had arranged that at Washington, while on his way home. Maximilian relied also on the support of the Pope and of the Mexican

clergy. *Now the rupture with the Pope is complete,* and it is certain that his Holiness will not even receive Velasquez de Leon and the other Commissioners now on their way to Rome. *Sooner than grant the Concordat which Maximilian requires, the Pope will excommunicate him;* and sooner than be blasted by the thunders of the Vatican, His Imperial Majesty will come home—more especially as *there is only a poor sickly boy of six* (*whose mother will never bear again*) between him and his succession to the throne of Austria.

The double disappointment in Mexico, 1st, as to recognition by the United States, and 2nd, as to hearty support from the Pope, led Maximilian to protest officially, two months ago, through Mr. Murphy, his Minister at Vienna, against the *publication* (and communication to the Reichsrath) of the *private* family "Act of Renunciation of his Agnate Rights," which he most reluctantly signed at Miramar, just before embarking for Mexico, and without considering its contents and consequences. That Protest, which the Austrian Government has tried to hush up, would not have been divulged, had not Maximilian, with a view to the maintenance of his own and his children's contingent rights to the throne of the Hapsburgs, peremptorily instructed his Ministers at Paris and London to notify *officially* copies of his protest and declaration to England, France, and Belgium. In the declaration Maximilian pronounces the act of renunciation to be *null* and void, and maintains that on his abdicating the throne of Mexico and returning to Austria he will be entitled to resume his former status of Archduke, the natural Regent in case of his Brother's death (during the minority of the Archduke Rudolph, now six years of age), and after Rudolph heir to the throne.

Put these facts, for the truth of which I vouch, together and you will easily see how insecure is Maximilian's seat upon the throne of the Montezumas. You will not feel surprised at his Ministers tendering their resignation or at his own abdication.

Pray present my respectful regards to Mrs. Bigelow, and believe me to be,

Yours truly

P.S. I send you by post another copy of the *Springbock* pamphlet for your own use, that you may see how unjustly my

poor clients have been treated. If you should hear from Mr Seward on the subject, please let me know.

It may interest you to know that large English creditors of the Confederate Government in this country have attached (or arrested) in the hands of their financial agents in London all funds belonging to said Government. This attachment has been made in what is called the *"Lord Mayor's Court"* in the City of London, which has very summary and sweeping powers for the recovery of debts.[1]

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 7, 1865.

Sir:

I am informed by one of the members of the Corps Législatif that General Bazaine is about to return from Mexico and that General Douay is to replace him. General Douay went out to Mexico with the army of occupation and was sent for some time since by the Emperor to come and report the military situation and prospects of the new government. He has represented to the Emperor that two years and thirty thousand men will be necessary to effect the entire *pacification* of Mexico. He is to have thirty thousand men, and, God willing, the two years. If successful, I suppose, like General Bazaine, he will have a Marshal's baton besides.

While speaking of changes in the Imperial service I think it a matter of congratulation to us that M. La Valette has replaced M. Boudet in the Ministry of the Interior. This gentleman's influence here with the Government in American affairs has always been exerted, I believe, in opposition to the insurgents. You will recollect that he was recalled from the mission to Rome in consequence of having carried out the Emperor's original Italian policy a little too faithfully. His restoration is another indication of the growing ascendancy of Prince Napoleon in the Emperor's councils.

[1] This refers to the proceeds of the £3,000,000 loan negotiated in England in 1863 by the Erlangers, to which the names of Gladstone and of editors of the *Times* were subsequently shown to have been on the list of subscribers.

I will here mention a bit of gossip which is believed in well-informed quarters to be true. During a brief but rather serious illness of the Emperor last fall, the Duke de Morny went to the bedside of the august invalid, and producing an order for the arrest of Prince Napoleon, asked him to sign it. It was to be kept for use only in case the pretensions of the Prince Napoleon to the throne should be found arrayed in opposition to those of the Prince Imperial in the event of the Emperor's death. The order was signed, and somehow the fact reached the ears of Prince Napoleon. He demanded and obtained, as satisfaction for the indignity, the appointment of President of the Privy Council, which will constitute the board of Regency in case of necessity. In this way the quarrel was smothered, but not quenched. I am not aware that Prince Napoleon has taken any public notice whatever of de Morny's death, a circumstance which, in view of the Duke's prominence as a member of the Government—not to speak of the other and nearer ties said to have bound him to the Emperor—was quite too marked to escape notice.

The debates in the Corps Législatif last week took a somewhat alarming tone in consequence, more or less directly, of an attempt of the Minister of State [Rouher] at the funeral of the Duke de Morny to justify the "Coup d'État" of the 2nd of December, 1852.

When the 2nd of December was casually referred to in the debates, therefore, the other day, by one of the Government speakers, M. Picard exclaimed: "Do not speak of the 2nd of December. *It is a crime.*"

This remark produced a violent commotion in the Assembly, from which it did not recover for several days. I send you a translation of the *Moniteur's* version of the first day's debate, from which you will miss the concluding part of Picard's words above quoted, though you will notice repeated references in the debate to some word used by him which does not appear.

I am told that, while this discussion was going on and becoming apparently more rather than less inflammatory, General Fleury went to the Emperor and said that this must be stopped. He proposed that the Government members should be convened apart and that they should adopt the reply to the address in bulk and thus make an end of the matter. M.

Rouher entered while Fleury was entertaining the Emperor with the matter, and through his agency a less damaging mode of action was adopted. What it was I have not heard, but whether he addressed the fears or the hopes of the Opposition, his intervention seems not to have been without the desired effect.

Next week the amendment about Mexico and the United States will be under discussion. Berryer will speak on the first, and Eugène Pelletan will speak on the last.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

PARIS, April 7, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I am quite unable to express to you my deep sense of your kindness. You have placed me and my family for generations to come under obligations which they can never hope to repay, for you have ennobled us in the only sense in which one man can ennoble another. That I may realize your expectations of my usefulness here is my daily prayer.

That the President should have thought well enough of one, of whom he knows so little, as to assent to my appointment to this mission is very gratifying to me, for it shows that he has been pleased with what I have done, or tried to do, while I have been in his service. I hope I shall do nothing hereafter to forfeit his confidence, but if I do I shall remain none the less grateful for the generous manner in which he has been pleased to appreciate my past services.

I handed your letter of recall without delay to Mr. Pennington, as I had no excuse for continuing him here. With many amiable qualities, P. could hardly have drifted into a place for which he is less fitted in every respect than the one he has occupied for the last four years, and from which he very reluctantly retires.

His ignorance is profound; he has neither the desire nor the capacity to learn anything; his habits are not very good; he is careless and untidy in his person and boorish in his manners;

he writes an illegible hand and is incapable of inditing the simplest sort of a note in a satisfactory way. I had no excuse for keeping for a single day such a person under the pay of the Government, when the responsibility rested with me.

After a large volume of uncopied dispatches had accumulated, I employed a young man to help me; he is now my only Secretary. I shall hail with delight the arrival of the two gentlemen who are to replace Mr. Pennington and Mr. Dayton, if they are working men, as I suppose they are, for there is a great deal of work to be done here at once. Not one of Mr. Dayton's dispatches to or from the Government has been indexed.

If I can find time, I will during the year endeavor to send you a report on the condition of the Archives of this Legation, which may be of use to my successors at least.

I enclose a letter received this morning from an intimate friend of Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, and the man who told me of Maximilian's intentions in relation to the Pope, to his brother and to the Mexican throne, which I communicated to you some weeks ago. I will thank you to return it when you have read it.

Again thanking you most sincerely for your many kindnesses to me, I remain, as ever,

Your sincere friend

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, April, 1865.

Sir:

In consequence of the number of counterfeits in circulation, the bankers of Frankfort and Berlin have given notice that they will not guarantee the genuineness of the United States bonds which they sell. I enclose one of these notices addressed by a banking house at Berlin to a correspondent in this city, who brought the subject to my notice and subsequently addressed me a note which is also enclosed. These bankers' notices, which are printed, must soon put an end to the sale of our securities in European markets unless some provision is

made to assure purchasers of their genuineness. It is probable that our representatives at Berlin and Frankfort have already brought this subject to the attention of the department, but the circumstances under which the complaint has been made to me seem to make it my duty to report it.

A demand for our securities is beginning to be developed here in Paris, and it would be well, I think, to include this city in any arrangement which the Secretary of the Treasury might think fit to make, if any, to insure their genuineness.

I am, sir, etc.

SEWARD TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 8, 1865.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 17th of March, No. 62, in which you give me the result of a conversation you held with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the 17th ultimo, in regard to our relations with France. That paper has been read with interest, and your proceedings are approved.

The same mail that brings your despatch bears to us intelligence of the attempted escape from Ferrol of the *Stonewall*, in order to enter upon a career of piratical depredations upon American commerce, which was only frustrated by the vigilance of the United States cruisers in that vicinity.

This occurrence and the rapid decadence of the rebellion, since your conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, will justify a recurrence to the subject at an early opportunity.

The insurrection has now no port or access to the sea, no fixed seat of its pretended government, no coherent civil administration, no army that is not, in consequence of repeated defeats, rapidly dissolving into fragments, and the only ships that assume to carry its flag are those foreign-built vessels, which, from the day their keels were laid on neutral soil, have never ventured to approach within hundreds of miles of the

scene of the insurrection, and have only derived their ability to rob and plunder from the concession to them of belligerent privileges by powers which have repeatedly assured us of their disposition to be neutral in the strife.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

By F. W. SEWARD,
Assistant Secretary.

BIGELOW TO THOMAS POTTER

PARIS, April 10, 1865.

My dear Mr. Potter:

I am extremely sensible of the friendship which prompted your kind letters, and beg you will accept my thanks. All public honors, though, shrink to nothing in presence of the great calamity which has just befallen one whom no amount of public esteem could save to his friends. I cannot bear to think that when I go to England I am not to see Mr. Cobden again nor hear his friendly and instructive conversation.

Is it true that you are to run for his seat in Parliament? That is the report here, and another that Mr. Hargreaves would be a candidate. Mr. H.'s health, however, would not permit of his accepting a seat in Parliament, if offered to him, I am told.

I think your peerage lost an excellent opportunity, which will never return, of scoring a white mark on the popular heart at Mr. C.'s death.

I am glad to hear that Mr. C.'s family are left in comfortable circumstances, though for that matter he left friends in both hemispheres who would as cheerfully provide for Mrs. C. and her children as for their own households. We miss your annual visit to Paris this year. Please present my duty to Mrs. Potter and believe me very truly yours

LORD LYTTON AND HIS DISAPPOINTMENT

I owed the acquaintance of Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer to his brother Sir Henry Bulwer, at whose dinner-table we both were guests. It was, I believe, on the day the news of the surrender of the Confederate general Lee (April 9, 1865) and the termination of our Civil War reached me in Paris. Lord Lytton chanced then to be in Paris to consult an aurist about his deafness, which seemed to be growing upon him.

The only incident of the dinner which has left any special impression upon my memory was a remark made by Sir Edward when I imparted the news that our Civil War was at an end.

"Well, I must tell you frankly, Mr. Bigelow," he said, "I am sorry for it. I had indulged the hope that your country might break up into two or perhaps more fragments. I regard the United States as a menace to the whole civilized world if you are allowed to go on developing as you have been, undisturbed."

I knew very well that he was only expressing the opinion which was pretty universally entertained by his class in England; but this was the first time I had heard it openly avowed by any officer of the British Government, for such he was as a member of the House of Peers. I did not feel particularly anxious to quiet Sir Edward's nerves, the memory of the deportment of his Government toward the United States during the war being still very fresh in my mind. I simply replied that ours was not the only people that were increasing in wealth and numbers—that all the other nations of the world, especially England, were doing the same thing; and if the peace of the world was to be again disturbed, I did not believe the responsibility for that disturbance would be laid to our door.

Some months or years after this colloquy, I stumbled upon a speech which Lord Lytton had made at a meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society at Hitchin, September 25, 1861, in which he had expressed in equally strong terms his conviction that the disruption of our Union was of vital interest to the

rest of the civilized world. As a specimen of the kind of oratory which was popular among the English country gentry during the progress of our struggle with slavery, this speech deserves to be remembered. I will quote it here also, as reported in the *London Times* of September 26, for another reason. I think Sir Edward would hardly have addressed such a remark as I have already cited to the diplomatic representative of the United States, and at his brother's table, had he not presumed that I had already read his speech at Hitchin, for platform orators presume everybody reads their speeches if reported. The print from which the speech is taken is responsible for its italics.

SPEECH OF SIR E. BULWER LYTTON BEFORE THE HERTS AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1861

The annual meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society was held yesterday at Hitchin. The dinner was held at the Corn Exchange at four o'clock; Mr. C. W. Giles Puller presided, supported by the Right Hon. Sir E. B. Lytton, M.P., and Mr. H. E. Surtees.

Sir E. B. Lytton in his speech said: Gentlemen, I thank you for the honor you have done to my colleagues and me. It is not the least agreeable feature of these meetings that all the differences of political party are suspended, and that you can thus combine in one good wish those who represent both the great sections of opinion in this county, and who sit on opposite benches in the House of Commons. But, gentlemen, it is not in the Old World alone that great changes have passed since I last addressed you. Many of you will remember that when I took the chair, now so ably filled, at our meeting in this town, there came with me, as my guest and as yours, Mr. Dallas, the distinguished diplomatic Minister of the then United States of America. You will remember the enthusiasm with which he was deservedly greeted, and the applause that followed every affectionate allusion to our republican kinsfolk, with whom nevertheless there was at that moment, as there has been often before, one of those irritating questions in which much was sternly asked by young Brother Jonathan and mildly conceded by old John Bull. Well, we Englishmen respected the giant republic *in its apparent unity and its fancied strength*, and no true Englishman will be mean enough to exult in the pangs of its separation and the horrors of its civil war. But even

then, when Mr. Dallas was our guest, I never conceived, nor do I understand *how any far-thinking statesman could conceive, that a fourth part of the earth could long be held under one imperial form of government.* That separation between North and South America which is now being brought about by civil war I have long foreseen and foretold to be inevitable, *and I venture to predict that the younger men here present will live to see not two, but at least four, and probably more than four separate and sovereign commonwealths arising out of those populations which a year ago united their Legislature under one President and carried their merchandise under a single flag.* And so far from thinking that these separations will be injurious to the future destinies of America, or inflict a blow on that grand principle of self-government in which the substance of liberty consists, I believe that such separations will be attended *with happy results to the safety of Europe and the development of American civilization. If it could have been possible that, as population and wealth increased, all the vast continent of America, with her mighty seaboard and the fleets which her increasing ambition as well as her extending commerce would have formed and armed, could have remained under one form of government, in which the Executive has little or no control over a populace exceedingly adventurous and excitable, why then America would have hung over Europe like a gathering and destructive thunder-cloud. No single kingdom in Europe could have been strong enough to maintain itself against a nation that had once consolidated the gigantic resources of a quarter of the globe.* And this unwieldy extent of empire would have been as fatal to the permanent safety and development of America herself, as the experience of all history tells us an empire too vast to maintain the healthy circulation of its own life-blood ever has been, since the world began, to the races over which it spread. By their own weight the old colossal empires of the East fell to ruin. It was by her own vast extent of dominion that Rome first lost her liberties, under the very armies which that extent of dominion compelled her to maintain, and finally rendered up her dominion itself to the revenge of the barbarians she had invaded. The immense monarchy founded by the genius of Charlemagne fell to pieces soon after his death, and those pieces are now the kingdoms of Europe. But neither the empires of the East, nor the commonwealth of Rome, nor the monarchy of Charlemagne, could compare *in extent and resources with the continent of America; and you will remember that the United States claimed a right to the whole of that continent, and the ultimate fate of America, under one feeble Executive—the feeblest Executive perhaps ever known in a civilized community—would have been no exception to the truths of history and the laws of nature. But in proportion as America shall become subdivided into different States,* each of which is large enough for great-

ness—larger than an European kingdom—*her ambition will be less formidable to the rest of the world,* and I do not doubt that the action of emulation and rivalry between one free State and another, speaking the same language and enjoying that educated culture which inspires an affection for all that enlightens and exalts humanity, will produce the same effects upon art and commerce, and the improvements in practical government, which the same kind of competition produced in the old commonwealths of Greece. Heaven grant that my convictions may not be erroneous. I am not, then, one of those who say that the impending separation of the American States proves the failure of her experiment of democracy. Any other form of government would have equally failed in keeping together sections of a community so geographically cast, with interests antagonistic to each other. But this I may say, that when we see liberty and law alike suspended in the moment of danger, printing-presses destroyed by an unresisted mob, or the opinions of public writers stifled by a democratic government—when we see an American President so bewildered by his own armies, or so despairing of the skill of his own generals, that he offers to the Italian Garibaldi the command of American patriots—I think, without vanity, we may say that in those acts of good government which can preserve freedom in the hour of danger, and enable a nation to right itself by the brains and the hearts of its own children, America has more to learn from England than England can learn from America. Let us, then, turn our eyes back to our own country, humbly grateful for the blessings we enjoy, and manfully resolved to maintain and defend them.

SPEECH OF SIR E. BULWER LYTTON BEFORE THE HERTS AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1863, AS REPORTED IN THE *LONDON TIMES* OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1863

I remember that when I last addressed you in this room, two years ago, I dwelt at some length upon the remarkable events which have rendered the age we live in memorable for startling and momentous changes. Within even the space of the two years that have passed since then, Europe has continued to exhibit the same unsettled political elements, while in America a civil war, unparalleled for its merciless waste of treasure and blood, seems still more fiercely animated by passion so void of reason that the newspapers of the Northern States are inviting Canada to desert the disorders and oppressions of British dominion for the mild blessings of American peace and brotherhood.

Yet one would have supposed that even the vainest American would have thought this an unfavorable moment for persuading Canada to exchange the Old Union Jack for the American flag of the Stripes and Stars, just when that flag is so rent in two that the stars are gone and only the stripes remain. [Loud cheers.]

The prophecy of Lord Lytton that, unless the United States were divided into fragments and weakened, they would be a menace to the whole civilized world, recalls two prophecies which it is to be hoped will give both their authors a higher rank among prophets than that of my noble commensal.

Appealing to Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, just after the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga, for more money to carry on the war with Great Britain, Franklin said:

I am growing old; I feel enfeebled. It is possible that I shall not have much more time to occupy myself with these affairs. I therefore embrace this occasion to say to your Excellency that the present conjuncture is extremely critical. If the English are suffered to recover this country, the opportunity for an effective separation may not present itself again for ages; the possession of countries so vast and fertile, of a coast so extensive, will give them such a strong base for future greatness, by the rapid increase of their commerce and augmentation of soldiers and sailors, that they will become the terror of Europe and will exercise with impunity the insolence which is natural to that nation.

In a speech at Birmingham on the 18th of December, 1862, Mr. Bright closed with one of the happiest oratorical efforts of his life, and although these words have already appeared in these pages (Vol. I, pp. 581, 582), they will here be read again with a new interest:

I blame men who are eager to admit into the family of nations a state which offers itself to us, based on a principle, I will undertake to say, more odious and blasphemous than was ever heretofore dreamed of in Christian or pagan, in civilized or in savage times. The leader of this revolt proposes this monstrous thing—that over a territory forty times as large as England the blight and curse of slavery shall be forever perpetuated. I cannot believe, for my part, that such a fate will befall that fair land, stricken though it now is with the ravages of war. I cannot believe that civilization, in its journey with the sun, will sink into endless night in order to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

" . . . Wade through slaughter to a throne
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze; it may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen north in unbroken line to the glowing south, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main,—and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and, over all that wide continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime.

The reputation as prophets of neither Franklin nor Lord Lytton should suffer from the prophecies I have cited. Franklin prophesied results than which nothing was more probable had his appeal not been listened to by the French King; and what he predicted would happen if the English arms were not checked in America was precisely what Lord Lytton predicted would happen if the growing power of the United States was not arrested. The great transatlantic Republic is already a menace, if not to all Europe, certainly to Great Britain, not as a military but as a commercial, manufacturing and seafaring power. The United States already can hardly be rated as second to any nation in the world in her influence; nor do I think of any nation with which any foreign power would be more reluctant to cultivate hostile relations.

Like Disraeli, Lord Lytton in early life was what Mr. Kipling would call a "blooming Radical"; and, like Mr. Disraeli, when by his talents as a writer he found himself in sight and reach of the favors of the crown, he out-Toried the Tories.

In "My Novel," which he wrote in 1853, the following passage is found:

A constitutional Monarchy cannot exist without Aristocracy, nor a healthful Republic endure with corruption of manners. The cry of Equality is incompatible with civilization, which of necessity contrasts with wealth, and, in short, whether it be an Emperor or a Mob that is to rule, Force is the sole hope of order, and the Government is but an Army.

What loose talk!

What does he mean by an "Aristocracy"? If he means *aristoi,* brave men, exceptional men, representative men, no government ever existed without an aristocracy. But an he-

reditary aristocracy is no more essential to a constitutional monarchy than the latter is to the former.

What is "a healthful Republic"?

Can an unhealthful republic endure longer than a healthful with corruption of manners? In what respect is corruption of manners more injurious to a republic than to a constitutional monarchy? Is there any ground for that opinion, except that, in the experience of the world, monarchies have coexisted with more corruption of manners than popular governments—in other words, produced and tolerated more?

What does he mean by "Equality"? Equality in size, wealth, strength, capacity of any kind? That would be absurd, as no two men are precisely equal in any respect. Does he mean equally entitled to share the protection of the laws—justice, in other words, a share in the government proportioned to a man's representative value as a constituent of the nation? Then why is it "incompatible with civilization"? Is there any condition of political society, whether civilized or savage, where wealth was not contrasted with poverty?

What does he mean by "Force" being "the sole hope of order"? Suppose it is. Has not a republic force? What republic has ever existed that did not show force enough? Have not intelligence, the domestic virtues, patriotism, anything to do in the work of maintaining order, and do not all these qualities, including force, abound as much in republics as in any other forms of government?

Republics have armies as well as monarchies. An army is merely a weapon with which the people or government execute their will. It is not peculiar to any, but common to all forms of government.

J. E. WILLIAMS[1] TO BIGELOW

New York, April 14, 1865.

My dear Friend:

. . . . . .

The close of this wicked rebellion brings joy to all, even where the heart was loaded down with bereavement and sorrow, from direful losses of friends.

[1] Then president of a New York bank.

There is only one thing I cannot and will not try to forgive the South for, that is, their cruel torture and starvation—deliberate murder of our noble prisoners. Jeff Davis, Gen. Lee and every other miscreant who had it in his power to prevent or stop that, I am bound never to forgive. As for the rest, let it go. I hope we shall use some *hemp,* but fear it will not be stretched as often as it ought to be—if at all!

How gloriously Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Schofield have acted their parts in this majestic National drama! I had a letter from Sherman on his arrival at Atlanta and another from Savannah. Grant I don't know personally. Now, to-day, we are informed by Secy. Stanton that there are to be no more drafts, no more enlistments, and that the army is to be at once reduced, to the saving, it is said, of a million of dollars a day! Three cheers—aye, nine, for the glorious Republic—the home of the free!

If I had answered your letter when it was received I should have said yes to all your statements in regard to our finances. I think Secy. Chase compelled the Banks to suspend specie payments (and consequently the Govt.) when there was no need of it. Had he been a practical business man, willing to be advised, instead of an ambitious second-rate Ohio lawyer, we should have been paying specie to-day! The war would have cost at least one third less, and a vast deal of the speculation which has grown out of it would have been avoided. But as it is, and bad as it is, we shall live through it, and before the year 1865 closes be likely to stir up the dry bones of your neighbor, John Bull. What is to prevent the flow of gold this way, when we come to empty our cotton bales into the Liverpool docks? And then, won't there be a cotton panic in old England, and a fall in prices, and a breaking up of the speculators? However, I have made up my mind to be *resigned,* even if that Nation of noble, disinterested, magnanimous people should suffer in the holy cause they have so lovingly sympathized with.

I am, my dear Sir, etc.

JAMES EADS TO BIGELOW

(*By Telegraph*)

QUEENSTOWN, le 15 avril, 1865, 6 heures 0 m^tes^ M.

Just arrived on *Australian.*
Petersburg evacuated.
Richmond taken with Weitzel's negro troops.
Lee retreating towards Lynchburg.
Grant and Sheridan pursuing.
Twenty thousand prisoners, large amount cannon and stores captured.
Sherman and Thomas not engaged.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Unofficial

PARIS, April 17, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I have been an invalid for some days past and was prevented in consequence from attending yesterday at the Palace, according to arrangement, to deliver my credentials. I am better now and shall ask to-morrow for another opportunity. I have many things to tell you about, but am not strong enough yet. Everything will keep. I enclose a letter from the Count de Montalembert about the President's inaugural. You will observe that he hints at a contemplated visit to the United States. He told me the other day that he was meditating a book about our country.

You will receive by this mail a dispatch about the Universal Exposition. Should you think well of my suggestion in regard to a Commissioner-General for the United States to reside here, I do not think you could make a choice of a fitter or more acceptable man than Mr. Beckwith (N. M.). He is a man of fortune, would serve without pay, is very intelligent and sensible, knows France and the French thoroughly, speaks their

language, has a rare genius for organization, stands well here with the Court and French society as well as American, and, what is rarer than all the rest of his accomplishments, has no undignified desire to see his name in the newspapers. Should it be my fortune to reside here as Minister during the gestation of the Exposition, we should be able to act together more efficiently and harmoniously than persons possessing anything like coördinate jurisdiction of equal importance generally do. If he pleases you, his appointment cannot be made too soon. I think good results may come to us from this Exposition, if it is properly managed and not left to manage itself or to be managed by newspapers. If you will appoint Mr. B. a Commissioner now, I will put him at once in relation with M. Le Play, and thus he will be prepared to send you before the opening of Congress an intelligent and practicable plan for organizing the American department, which would enable Congress to legislate upon the subject intelligently and promptly. He would probably give such reasons for his recommendations as would leave neither necessity nor pretext for much debate. I am in a sad plight for want of Secretaries. I have appointed one young man here, but his time is fully occupied with desk work, and it leaves me no one to send anywhere. I must go to the Palace also unattended. However, I am content to wait and work with the prospect before me of capable men to help me, when they come.

I have the enclosed note from Garnier-Pagès. The Corps Législatif, of which he is a member, has adjourned to the 25th. The Emperor is intending to go to Algeria on the 24th. I doubt the advantage to him of a trip to such a climate now. He is not well and wants, what he is likely to get for some time least of, freedom from care and anxiety.

Yours very sincerely,

N. M. BECKWITH TO BIGELOW

Paris, 3rd April, 1865.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

In continuation of our conversation about the International Exhibition permit me to add a few words.

The value of French exports last year was 581 million dollars and shows an increase of 51% in four years.

This growth of the external commerce is but the index of the greater growths of internal commerce, resulting from the increased productiveness imparted to labor, skill and capital; and the increased productiveness is traceable in details directly to the application of the sciences to the industrial arts.

If it be true that civilization was led in most countries for a long period by a few men of genius skilled in political science and literature, it is not less true that the men of physical science have at length come to their aid.

The Geologists, Naturalists, Chemists, Mineralogists, Inventors and Engineers are now directing the labor of the world with a success never before attained.

As the intellectual domination of the material world increases, the hardships and barrenness of toil diminish and its products multiply, and while political science emancipates the enslaved races, physical science enslaves the elements and forces of nature and emancipates mankind.

In this great movement the largest benefits will fall, with the largest markets in the world, to those who make the best provision for the development and diffusion of the practical sciences as applied to industry.

No nation produces within itself all these in perfection, nor keeps up with the daily progress in them, but those are most advanced in the race who adopt the best methods of collecting and disseminating the progressive knowledge resulting from the studies and labors of all.

Among the methods for this purpose International assemblies and Exhibitions are increasing in numbers, in frequency and in importance.

A knowledge of many of the useful and successful combinations of science and industrial art cannot be conveyed in words; they must be studied in models and specimens which display at once the combinations and effects, the modes and results.

These being the products of many localities and many countries, bringing them together facilitates their study and affords at the same time the opportunity of careful and accurate comparisons, without which no study is complete.

The utility which experience ascribes to this method is indi-

cated in France by a comparison of the provisions made for the Exhibition of 1854 with those making for 1867.

The first was entered upon timidly, the Government relying chiefly on private capital and enterprise on which the labor and risk were thrown. The latter has been taken up boldly as a business of state and projected on a larger scale, contemplating an expenditure of 20 million francs, of which 12 millions are to be supplied from the public funds, leaving 8 millions as the probable contribution of visitors.

The United States have never participated in these assemblies to the extent naturally suggested by their interest, intelligence, and enterprise; nor derived from them the benefits they might have done.

I attribute this:

To the want of a suitable organization of the movement,

To the want of timely information on the subject and provision for the transportation, placement, and proper exposition of objects, and

To the absence of the necessary co-operation of the Government in aid of the exhibition.

1st.

The first step towards a proper organization is indicated by Regulations of the "Imperial Commission," which require the governments intending to co-operate to appoint a Commissioner duly accredited to the Imperial Commission, which commissioner will have charge of the business belonging to the country whose government appoints him.

It is necessary for the Commissioner to be in constant communication with the Imperial Commission to enable him to lay before the exhibitors early information of the plans and designs as they are developed during the whole progress of the formation of the Exhibition.

2nd.

The Commissioner will require an agency in New York to centralize the movement in the United States, to communicate with exhibitors and impart to them the requisite information in detail, and to facilitate in general the movement.

3rd.

The Commissioner will also require (at a later period) the assistance of a Committee composed, 1st, of the professional and scientific persons whom the Government should appoint to study and aid in preparing a suitable report of the Exhibition, to be subsequently published; 2nd, of the agents appointed by different States, or associations, and such other persons as the commissioner may find necessary to aid in the general work.

Remark.

The Agent in New York and the professional men the Government may appoint should be paid: all others should serve without pay. The agent should select his own local committees or assistants and so distribute them throughout the States as to render the movement active and efficient.

This organization completed in smaller details is the simplest and the least that will answer the purpose, and I feel no hesitation in expressing the conviction that nothing will be done on a scale worthy of the country and with the completeness requisite for public benefit, if the Government does not take the initiative, in the manner and to the extent here indicated.

It is obviously necessary that the organization should conform to the plan of the "Imperial Commission," and it is equally obvious that in a movement of this kind, where there is no authority and no corresponding responsibility (which can only emanate from the Government), there is not likely to be the order, co-operation and unity requisite for efficient management and useful results.

If the Government decides to inaugurate the business in this way, the monetary provision required from Congress will doubtless be readily made.

The country which taxes itself and appropriates more public money to education than all other countries, will readily aid its men of the industrial sciences and arts to be present, with the evidences of their skill, in an assembly of nations where all contribute for the improvement of all, and from which none can retire without benefit.

The diffusion of knowledge is in proportion to the numbers brought in simultaneous contact with its sources and with each other, and the more numerous the objects assembled, the more numerous the exhibitors and visitors brought together, the better will be the results.

Your views on this subject, I well know, must be similar to mine, and I ought perhaps to apologize for begging you to bring the subject to the early attention of the Government.

But a Government absorbed in shaping and directing the great events of the time is not likely to turn its attention spontaneously to inferior matters, though it may be glad to have been reminded of the necessity of initiative action, before it is too late, in regard to a subject of national interest which will attract more attention and assume more importance at a later period.

Very truly yours,

N. M. Beckwith.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, April 17, 1865.

Sir:

The Corps Législatif have finally disposed of the amendments proposed to the address from the throne which related specially to America. The one deploring the blood shed for a foreign prince in Mexico provoked a lengthy and somewhat angry debate, though the opposition was confined exclusively, I believe, to the republican wing of the assembly, neither Berryer nor Thiers speaking or voting. Out of two hundred and forty-one votes, but sixteen voted for the amendment. No different result was to have been anticipated, as the Mexican policy of the government stands more in need than any other, at the present moment, of the unqualified support of the Chambers. A report of this debate translated from the *Moniteur* will be found enclosed.

The speeches of Messrs. Corta and Rouher show what view the government wishes should be taken of its efforts thus far to found a European dynasty in Mexico. It will be seen that

these gentlemen have made the most of the conciliatory tone taken by your representatives abroad in reference to the future of the President's policy toward foreign states in the western hemisphere.

The other amendment, tendering sympathies and thanks to the United States for their efforts in behalf of civil liberty, was not debated. M. Pelletan made a short speech, but the news of Lee's flight, and the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, had reached the house only a few moments before he began, and the members were not in the humor at that moment, as you may suppose, to have the relations of France with the United States made the subject of a general discussion. The majority, at least, required time to take counsel before defining their position upon questions which the news of the day rendered more delicate than ever. M. Pelletan, who, I was told, had intended to enter at considerable length into our affairs, found in the events reported by telegraph logic more conclusive than any he had to offer, and so contented himself with a brief amplification of the amendment. After a thrilling allusion to the news, he asked the Chamber to send its felicitations across the Atlantic.

A report of M. Pelletan's speech, translated from the *Moniteur,* is also enclosed. The amendment received twenty-four votes, eight more than were given for the Mexican amendment.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

CORPS LÉGISLATIF OF FRANCE, SESSION OF APRIL 10, 1865, PRESIDENCY OF M. SCHNEIDER, VICE-PRESIDENT

DEBATE ON THE AMENDMENT TO THE ADDRESS ABOUT MEXICO

Translated from the Moniteur, April 11, 1865

President Schneider. There were two amendments on paragraph sixteen. The modifications demanded for the first amendment having been obtained, it requires no further notice from us; the second remains for consideration. It is presented by Messrs. Bethmont, Jules Favre, and others, and is thus expressed: "In Mexico we more than ever deplore the blood shed for a foreign prince, the national sover-

eignty unrecognized, and our future policy badly entangled (*mal engagé*). In conformity with the declarations of the government, we await the recall of our troops."

M. Jules Favre has the floor for the development of this amendment.

M. Jules Favre. Gentlemen, said he, I am almost abashed at rising to speak again. [Speak! speak!]

We demand by our amendment that our troops shall be immediately recalled; in the solution of this question the country is deeply interested. I waive as inopportune all discussion upon the origin of the war of Mexico, and I take the facts of the case as they present themselves at this moment.

The emperor Maximilian has founded in Mexico an official empire. I earnestly desire that the condition of the country may permit of a complete pacification, and that a government may there develop the true elements of stability and greatness; but I do not desire that France should contribute to this work, nor that she should lavish her arms and her wealth to sustain a foreign power that ought to stand by its own proper strength.

If we are to believe the articles of the *Moniteur,* the emperor of Mexico has been received with universal enthusiasm; the whole population hailed him as a saviour. Among the disaffected there were none but brigands and anarchists, who, thank God! were there, as elsewhere, in a very small minority.

Thus everything is going on well, if we judge from the official documents. True, we have not the power to consult other statements; and, inasmuch as nothing relating to this question has been laid before the Chamber, I consider that it has been treated with disrespect. Why this silence? All political documents are our common property.

It is impossible not to remark that by the side of these official declarations we have others which contradict them, and which affirm that the country has never ceased to be in a state of war.

. . . . . .

The honorable member read a document from which it appeared that, during the year 1864, there were 8070 men put *hors de combat,* 1601 of whom were killed; 179 cannon had been taken by the French, as also 2630 muskets and 1400 horses. Such, gentlemen, was, in 1864, the state of a country that they called, and still continue to call, pacified. I will not present to the Chamber the sorrowful episodes, the deeds of arms in which French blood so freely flowed, the treachery of certain Mexicans who, after having betrayed their country, betrayed the Frenchmen of their party, basely abandoning them, and delivering them into the hands of their countrymen.

These facts prove that Mexico is still in a state of war; and this is yet further proved by the siege of Oajaca, where Marshal Bazaine has

been obliged to go, which has been attended by much sacrifice, and has ended in the taking of some thousands of men. . . .

We proclaim the principle of nationalities in Germany and in Italy, and just now an honorable member of the majority reproached me for not having laid sufficient stress on this. And we went to Mexico to establish a government by the sword; when it was established, instead of recalling our army we place ourselves in the alternative of a disaster, or of an interminable war against the peoples who may continually present themselves upon the field of battle. In fact, not only do the documents attest that Mexico is not pacified, that the declarations of the government are contrary to truth, but the partisans of Maximilian acknowledge that the present army is indispensable to the maintenance of his power, and that it is even necessary to augment its proportions.

The orator read a fragment of an article taken from an official journal of Mexico, . . . the writer of which article thinks it will be necessary to maintain a French army of 45,000 men in Mexico. This, gentlemen, is what has been printed under the eyes of the emperor Maximilian, and this is the family council which is indispensable for him to maintain himself upon the throne and to enable him to exercise his guardianship over Mexico. [Different movements. Approbation from some benches.]

In the commissions of supplementary credits last year it was said that at the end of the year there should not be a French soldier in Mexico. This promise has shared the fate of many others; I will not say ministerial, but human promises. It must, however, be fulfilled, for it would be deceiving the Chamber and the country to protest that we were concentrating around Mexico, while we were undertaking to conquer by armed force a country ten times larger than France, and where the guerrillas, who are the strength of the nation, and in whom its patriotism has taken refuge [loud disapprobation]—

His excellency *M. Rouher,* Minister of State. Do not speak of brigands in such terms.

M. Garnier-Pagès. They said also "brigands of the Loire in 1815."

M. Jules Favre. We have the right to say that, since the government pretends that Mexico is pacified, and that Maximilian is hailed by the popular sympathy, it shall no longer maintain around his throne a force which might be so necessary to France. . . .

In 1862, when the expedition was in process of formation, I took the liberty of warning the Chamber of the dangers and contingencies which might arise from a contest with the United States.

It is difficult to imagine how deeply the American heart has been wounded by our expedition to Mexico. And may we not fear that at the termination of a terrible, a gigantic war, which has called all men of action to the battle-field, their armies, disbanded by peace, should

rush into Mexico? Let our troops return then; let them return then immediately. It is the desire of all France, and we ask of you to fulfil it. [Approbation from several benches.]

President Schneider. M. Corta has the floor. [Movement of attention.]

M. Corta. The Chamber will, I hope, permit me to say a few words about Mexico. Having been honored with a mission to that country, I come to bear witness of what I have seen. I must premise that the impressions which I bring thence do not agree with what the last speaker has just said.

The Hon. M. Jules Favre . . . has examined the situation of Mexico in regard to its present sovereign; in regard to its pacification; in regard to our army: in a word, in regard to the contingencies of war with the United States. Before following him into these different questions, I ask the permission of the Chamber to lay before it a few preliminary observations. It seems to me that the first question to examine is, what faith can be placed in the future of Mexico? A Frenchman who had lived a long time in that country once said to me, "I have seen so many successive revolutions in Mexico; I have so often seen the country ready to fall, and yet recover itself, that even before the intervention I said to myself, Mexico cannot perish. And indeed this country, even in the midst of its disturbances, had always a principle of vitality which gave sure promise for its future destiny."

What are the causes of this vitality? In the first place, its extent is not, as M. Jules Favre said, ten times, but three times and a half as large as France; situated in the centre of America, touching the north on one side, and the south on the other, and washed by two oceans, this country unites all the advantages of geographical position to a soil of universal fertility.

The subsoil is so rich that, at the time when the treasures of Mexico were being spread through the entire world, Humboldt said these riches had scarcely begun to be developed, and this opinion has been confirmed by the testimony of the celebrated engineer M. Lam, who was sent from France to Mexico.

Mexico is, therefore, a highly favored country, in an agricultural and commercial point of view. Having thus shown its natural advantages, let us now see what man has done for it.

When Fernando Cortez conquered Mexico, he overthrew not only the throne of Montezuma, but a civilization the importance of which is attested by history, by tradition, and by monuments still extant in the country. What has been substituted for this civilization? The Spaniards gave Mexico Catholicism, without themselves following its precepts. The natives were excluded from all public offices; certain branches of industry and knowledge were closed to them, in the interest of commerce and the church. Spain, in short, did not restrict

herself to drawing from Mexico the silver that she scattered over the whole earth; she levied from its products in order to aliment her colonial budgets, and to raise immense sums of money, which she poured into her treasury at Madrid. During all this time nothing was undertaken in Mexico for its own interest, but solely for that of Spain; then came its independence proclaimed in 1810, and realized in 1820.

What was this independence and for whose profit was it declared? The Spaniards left behind them in Mexico the old natives, the Indians, whom they had long enslaved, but who were submissive and resigned; a race somewhat weak, but industrious and intelligent, penetrated with the sentiment of religion and the love of home.

The Indians formed four-fifths of the population. The Spaniards thus left behind them a new people, born of their admixture with the natives, the Mexicans properly so called.

For whose profit was the independence proclaimed? For the profit of the great majority of the population? No, but for a Mexican oligarchy, divided into two pretty nearly equal parties, the liberals and the conservatives, who were constantly fighting with each other, sword in hand, for the supremacy, oppressing the Indians and pillaging the people they were appointed to govern; thus with the Spaniards came tyranny, with independence, anarchy; nature had done everything for the prosperity of the country, but man seemed bent on its ruin. It has not perished, it has not even feebly prospered. The reason is, that outside the Mexican oligarchy the Indians, a patient and tenacious race, have never ceased to labor, and that foreigners have continued their traffic, which consists in the exchange of the mineral productions of Mexico against the fabricated productions of Europe.

Is a nation which has resisted oppression and anarchy, and which possesses a most fertile soil, capable of prosperity? The reply cannot be dubious. To rise again it needs but two things—a regular government and time. [Very good, very good.] It unquestionably has a regular government. From Vera Cruz to Mexico the progress of the emperor Maximilian has been a triumph. To the Indian he is the man coming from the east, with blue eyes and golden hair, who is to regenerate the country.

The Indians have, therefore, with a sort of innocence, but with genuine enthusiasm, hailed the emperor Maximilian as a deliverer.

The clerical conservatives, who form a half of the Mexican element, have rallied around him, as have also those moderate men among the liberals, who have become tired of civil war and are persuaded that the republican form of government is not suited to the interest of the country. This majority of the Mexican element has hailed the empire as the only hope of the nation, its only anchor of salvation. A solitary group of men has held itself aloof; for these men civil war

is a necessity, a habit, an existence, and like Porfirio Diaz, at Oajaca, they will not throw down their arms until they are forced to surrender at discretion.

Such are the sentiments which greeted the emperor Maximilian. It may be said that upon his arrival in Mexico he was crowned by the universal suffrage of the people, who called him to reign over them. [Very good, very good.]

. . . . . .

But, gentlemen, as the foreign legion and the auxiliary corps of Belgians and Austrians—Austrians who have already given proofs of their bravery and firmness—become developed, and the empire consolidated, the French army can be gradually reduced and finally withdrawn. Our flag should never cease to wave in Mexico until all the advantages that France upholds there are guaranteed and sure. Shall our flag be furled before the chances of a war that may result from peace in the United States? This is the last question examined yesterday by our honorable colleague, M. Jules Favre, and upon which I asked permission to express the opinion that I had gathered in Mexico. In that country these chances preoccupy the public mind much less than in Europe. I will quote the opinion of General Smith, when, in 1847, he occupied the city of Mexico. After General Jackson's expedition, he was asked if the United States intended to keep Mexico for themselves; he replied, "Why should they? Mexico is an old country, having its own religion, its own customs; its population, though thin, is scattered over its whole extent. The United States want deserts to people and virgin soil to work, upon which their institutions may readily be implanted. Mexico is not to our taste, and deserts and waste lands abound in America."

Since these words were uttered, Sonora and the unsold property of the clergy have been offered to the United States by President Juarez for seventy-five million [francs?], but the American government and the present Chief Magistrate have refused to negotiate, though thrice urged by Juarez. But will the proclivities of the United States government be modified hereafter? And first, in what concerns the president of the south, Mr. Davis, it is only necessary to turn to his message of 1863, to see that he completely recognizes what has been established in Mexico, and that he desires to entertain none but friendly relations with its new government. This is what he says: "The events of the year that has just passed away have produced important changes in the condition of our neighbor at the south. The occupation of the capital of Mexico by the French army, and the establishment of a provisory government, followed by a radical change in the constitution of the nation, have excited the most lively interest. Always preferring our own government and institutions to those of other countries, we have no inclination to deny them the exercise of the same right

of self-government that we claim for ourselves; if the Mexican people prefer a monarchy to a republic, it is clearly our duty to acquiesce heartily in their decision, and to manifest a sincere and friendly interest for its prosperity." And there is no reason to believe that the disposition of the government of the United States differs from these sentiments.

. . . . . .

Our expedition to Mexico was undertaken in the midst of a revolution, brought about by science before our eyes. At the present day, steam and electricity annihilate distances, bring nations, so to speak, in contact with each other, by land and sea, with their various wants, interests, passions, chances of disagreement, and also happily place them in strict community of ideas and sentiments, which clearly demonstrate it to be much more the interest of nations to aid one another mutually than to fight together; the prosperity of one nation is increased by the prosperity of the others. A striking example of this is, on the one hand, the beneficial rivalry of France and England in peace, and, on the other, the war in the United States, which not only has disturbed all Europe, but has also caused it to experience an immense commercial and manufacturing crisis. Well, in the midst of this novel situation, with the prospect of the nations of the world being drawn more closely together, and with the chances of peace and war, what will be the scope of the Mexican expedition? The future will tell us in estimating its results. As for us, while waiting for history to write the page consecrated to this expedition, what duty does our conscience impose on us? This duty has always appeared and still appears to me very plain; our flag is pledged; where our flag is, there is France, and we owe it our support. It is for this reason, gentlemen, that we are now in Mexico; it is for this reason that I vote for the rejection of the amendment proposed to you. [Numerous signs of approbation.]

M. Ernest Picard. Whatever legitimate authority, gentlemen, may belong to the words of our honorable colleague, and the mission with which he has been honored, I must declare frankly to the house that his speech, to which I listened with the most lively attention, did not convince me [laughter], and, I will add, it cannot convince me. . . .

I confess that in listening to his speech two sentiments have been excited in my breast, a sentiment of fascination and a sentiment of fear; yes, his speech fascinated me. Our honorable colleague has brought back from Mexico images the most brilliant; he has sought to gild his words with a beam of that sun he has just left [laughter and noise]; he has represented Mexico as a land of promise; the emperor Maximilian, that young man with golden locks and azure eyes [exclamations]—I quote his words, gentlemen [various interruptions]—as the saviour come from the east, and promised to the Indians.

I am astonished, gentlemen, at the impression these words of his produce upon you; I am astonished that you do not recall the events which took place at the setting out of the expedition. Do you imagine that the government, before sending its troops to Mexico and seeking there what it has not yet found, had not obtained information on the subject from men of intelligence who have lived in Mexico, and who with an equal good faith, an equal sincerity, made similar statements? . . . We believed the statements we received, and off we started; we are now in Mexico, and we must quit it—we must quit it, gentlemen. The honorable M. Corta has told you so. However fascinating may be the situation, that part of his speech which caused him the most uneasiness was the conclusion. And he did not dissimulate to the Chamber that, had he found means which in his eyes would have been honorable to leave Mexico, he would have been the first to join with me in advising to leave it. He would be the first to do so, in spite of the marvellous narrations he has presented to the Chamber. . . . [Murmurs.] It is of this assembly, it is of the honorable M. Corta himself that I would ask if he concurs with Marshal Forey, who says: "Yes, unfortunately, everything in Mexico requires remodelling; the moral sense of the country is completely perverted. There is no longer any administration, any justice, any army, any national industry, any anything, so to speak. This is not the fault of the nation." [Interruption.]

M. Chagor. Before our advent.

A Member. The date?

M. Ernest Picard. The date of the speech of Marshal Forey? The 19th of March, 1865. If everything in Mexico is to be remodelled, you will readily admit with me that the situation is not encouraging, nor the time propitious for the loan which is announced to us. If all in Mexico is to be remodelled, if the opinion of Marshal Forey does not coincide with that of our honorable colleague, who will give the casting vote? Who will come here in obedience to the first of all duties, and in face of this assembly furnish us with official documents, which may be checked, examined, discussed? The government. The duty is undeniable. The entire nation is awaiting the day when the government shall submit to the free examination of the majority and of the minority these documents which it has not yet produced. And where are these documents? Of all political questions, the one which, perhaps, possesses the greatest interest at this moment for France is the Mexican question. Of all questions—I except Algeria—that one concerning which we do not possess a single document is the Mexican question. Not a single document. Not a single one. On all other subjects we have had distributed among us, more or less generally, documents, despatches, reports. Upon this subject there has been an absolute silence. . . .

This, then, is the situation in which we find ourselves. It must be very grave, indeed, gentlemen, this Mexican question, since it is proposed to discuss it in this manner. What are the reasons why we are left in silence and obscurity in a matter which demands explanations and light? They are twofold. In the first place, the government—and I know not why it should be so in a great country and before a nation like France, where nothing honors more, both those who speak and those who listen, than the truth—the government, I say, wishes to keep us under the empire of illusions the most complete—illusions which the government itself does not entertain. [Reclamations.]

The Minister of State. I ask for the floor.

M. Ernest Picard. The government tells us the country is pacified. . . . I say that the country is not pacified; that the ovations of which we have heard may without doubt have occurred at certain points; but that the feeling of resistance is still very powerful in Mexico. [Reclamations.] And I will give immediate proof of what I say. What is the position which you occupy toward the Mexicans, upon whom you do not wish to impose a government, but merely to become acquainted with their free wishes?

The *Moniteur* is subject to slips as well as the other journals, and I therefore cannot tell whether or no it was in accordance with the wishes of the government that it published the decree that I am about to submit to you, as furnishing the only reply I shall make to this part of my honorable colleague's speech. The Monterey expedition had taken place. The general entered the city. He delivered it from the yoke of its oppressors. The respectable citizens gathered around the French commander, who proceeded to instal the municipal power. But though no armed resistance was made, still, since all this was occurring in a country which our honorable colleague has so well named a vivacious country, and which proves its vitality by resisting a foreign invasion, a vague sentiment of opposition manifested itself, the existence of which is demonstrated by the following decree:

"General Castagny, commanding the first division of the Franco-Mexican army, being charged with the reconstruction of the municipal authority of the city of Monterey, decrees:

"Art. 1. Pending ratification by the government of the emperor Maximilian, —— —— is named provisional prefect of the district; —— ——, substitute; —— ——, alcalde, etc.

"Art. 2. Any person designated in the preceding article who refuses to fulfil the functions confided to him shall be immediately punished by six months' imprisonment, conformably with the law."

We have here, gentlemen, a sort of press-gang for functionaries. . . . But this is not all, gentlemen. How were you received by those who summoned you to Mexico? And herein lies my reply to what

the honorable M. Corta said, when, after crying out that honor forbade France to abandon Mexico, he said that if we abandoned it we should leave there our partisans exposed to the malice of the reaction. It is we who are exposed to the malice of our partisans, as you will be in a way to judge from a document which it was not seen fit to submit to us, and we were obliged to hunt up among the official publications. In this document we find the following, where General Negre, commandant of the department of Mexico, writes to Archbishop Labastida: "Incendiary writings are slipped under the doors into the houses. The authors of this culpable manifestation seek to excite vile material interest, which our holy religion repudiates, and to invoke the most detestable passions against the army of the Emperor. I am pleased to believe, monseigneur, that your excellency is ignorant of these criminal manœuvres; I therefore point them out to you," etc., etc. The general concludes by requesting the archbishop to suppress these measures. The archbishop replies: "It is an attested fact, and one of public notoriety, that we have all protested against the two individuals who have the pretension to be a government."

It is against the government that the archbishop protests—against the government that we have erected. The archbishop continues: "And against the circulars of the 9th November and the 15th December of last year, declaring categorically that the church, in the plenitude of her immunities, of her rights, is subjected at this moment to the same attacks she had to sustain under the Juarez government, and that never has she seen herself persecuted with greater bitterness. In consequence of the position in which we have been placed, we find ourselves worse off than at that time. . . . Who could have thought that the first steps on both sides would lead to the maintenance of infamous laws, called laws of reform, decreed by the demagogy?" And thus, gentlemen, you are styled demagogues.

His Excellency *M. Rouher,* Minister of State. Does that please you?

M. Ernest Picard. I continue the quotation: "Who among you can imagine that the men who have pilfered the power will be unmindful of the religious and patriotic party, and that they will go so far as to take from that party its respectable members, treat them with contempt, and even to threaten them with the severest punishment? Who would think that they could push presumption and impudence so far as to side with the fallen party, and protect laws which have thrown such disrespect and outrage upon the ministers and virgins of the Lord? Who is there among you, no matter how limited may be his intelligence, who has not understood that the regents-general of the intervention are the bitterest enemies of religion and order?" You see how you are treated by those men who have called upon you—those men of consideration, whose sentiments I have just made known to you, and one of whom, if I mistake not, belongs to the provisional

government you have established down there—M. Labastida. I do not intend to read the entire document, but I merely wished to lay a sample of it before you. And now I hope the honorable M. Corta will permit me to ask him, is he very sure that he saw everything? He certainly understood all that he saw, but he has not seen all that he could understand. [Movement.]

Different Voices. And you, what have *you* seen? what have you been able to understand?

M. Ernest Picard. The second reason why I fear the government has left us in darkness is one which must be a still more painful one for it: it is that, behind all the brilliant explanations which the government will not fail soon to make, with all the talent of him who shall make them, I place a financial conclusion, viz., that the emperor Maximilian and his government will again make a demand upon the credit and funds of France. It is this, perhaps, which will explain to you why it was not thought proper to submit to our inspection those budgets, those custom-house systems, the brilliant mirage of which dazzled our eyes at the last session. . . . I regret, gentlemen, to say it, but the figures which you have heard to-day are not of a nature to inspire confidence in the hearts of future subscribers. The subscribers to the first loan have seen this loan, issued at the rate of sixty-three francs, fall in a few days ten and twelve francs—fall, I think, even as low as forty-eight francs, and at the present moment rise to fifty-two francs. So that small capitalists, owners of small incomes, attracted by the high rate of interest, believing the government to be morally responsible for an issue made, so to speak, under its patronage, and which may be sanctioned by official discourses pronounced here, may have to be saved by a second loan. But you will agree that the way to restore the equilibrium of our finances is not to unite them more closely than is proper, in these circumstances, to the Mexican finances. I add that it appears to me contrary to all rules of moral and political economy that the government should favor (I use expressly no other word) combinations which are forbidden, interdicted to private individuals. What does it accomplish in this first loan? It authorizes this borrower, called the Mexican government, which cannot give sufficient security to its creditors to insure their receiving the interest of the sum, to place in the office of deposits and consignments four semesters of arrearages. Thus it does what would not be allowed to the smallest commercial company, viz., pay the interest of the loan out of the capital; so that, at the end of two years, those who have not been so prudent as to withdraw from the consequences of such a financial affair will find themselves confronted by an empty treasury, and having no other guaranty than the henceforth well-known bonds of the Mexican loan. . . .

The basis of this loan is the financial prosperity of Mexico. Now,

the light we ask of you is, light upon the financial prosperity of Mexico. The Hon. M. Corta endeavored to give it, and he told us—citing the authority of a minister of the Mexican finances, the best statistician, I believe, that Mexico possesses, M. Lerdo y Tejada—he told us that this economist had in 1857 computed the proceeds of the customs revenue to be worth nearly eighty millions; seventy-five millions at first, he said; eighty millions after the opening of the ports of the Pacific, and a hundred millions even, taking into consideration the increasing prosperity of the country. This is the only document I should have been able to verify among those cited by my honorable colleague, and I requested him to show me the statement of this minister of the finances. But my honorable colleague was not in possession of this statement; had he seen it with his own eyes, I should have accepted the figures; but he had never seen it. He had obtained his information only through a third person. It so happens, however, that I have in my hand [the orator unfolded a great roll of paper, which excited the risibility of the assembly] a synoptical table of the finances of the Mexican republic, drawn up, not in 1856, but in 1850, by the Hon. Minister Lerdo y Tejada. I am ignorant of his having issued a new one in 1856. If it has been so stated to my honorable colleague, I shall believe; only I must remark that if such is the case, the civil war has greatly benefited the country, since from 1850 to 1856, at the time when Mexico was in the greatest state of agitation and suffering, when the republic began to have the upper hand, the revenues of the customs had doubled.

In referring to this only official or at least authentic document I have been able to obtain, so as to appreciate the value of the exposé of my honorable colleague, I have been disagreeably surprised to find that not only the customs receipts, but those of the entire revenues of the country do not amount to more than half of the figures given by the Hon. M. Corta, or rather given to him. [Movement.] They are put down at 8,500,000 piastres, that is, forty-two millions instead of eighty millions. . . .

Was I not right in saying, at the commencement, that we must beware of the fascinations of Mexico? And are not those finances rather fantastical in which we reckon not only what enters into the treasury, but also what does not enter, but which probably ought to enter? [Laughter.] We are not accustomed to discuss affairs with such a large margin; and my honorable colleague must allow me to observe to him, that if that were the only guaranty furnished to the subscribers to the loan, and if they knew it were so, and did not see behind the loan the government in its power, its majesty and moral responsibility, there would be no subscribers. I say it without further insisting upon this ungrateful portion of my task. I shall have fulfilled it if I have succeeded in demonstrating to you that it is impos-

sible, even with the greatest good will in the world, and without being in any way systematically opposed to Mexico and its prosperity—[interruption]—impossible, I say, to look upon our financial relations with Mexico as an excellent affair. I think, on the contrary, that it is time to remember what the Hon. M. Berryer said last year; about this time when making the account of Mexican finances, its debt and its resources, he showed that the Minister of Finance of the Mexican empire, whose report had been published there in the *Morning Post,* had said that not only was a loan, giving one hundred and twenty millions to the Mexican government, necessary, but that to save it, it would require a loan of seven hundred and fifty millions, otherwise it could not meet its expenses. The Hon. M. Berryer, our illustrious and eminent colleague, was very nearly in the right.

It was in 1862 that for the first time we were informed in this place of the Mexican expedition, and in 1862 we disputed the utility of this expedition, and declared to the government that it would not easily obtain those indemnities it went so far at such a cost to seek. We told it that behind this enterprise was concealed another, inspired by a candidate, and that candidate was the Archduke Maximilian. What answer was made to this? What were the words of him who was then the eloquent organ of the government? He said to us, . . . "The three contracting parties are pledged to reserve no acquisition of territory and no private advantage, and to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico no influence of a nature to violate the rights of the Mexican nation to choose and freely constitute the form of its own government."

Thus it was acknowledged that if the archduke were behind the expedition, you would not have been asked to vote for the expedition.

The following year we resumed the subject. All the world knew the Archduke Maximilian to be the candidate. The Minister of State himself acknowledged that since October 31, 1861 (and this took place in the session of March 13, 1862), that since that period an engagement had been entered into with him. "It was then necessary to look about one," said he. "A name has been pronounced, the name of a prince of that great house of Hapsburg, which shortly before we encountered on the battle-fields of Magenta and Solferino. The Emperor has thought himself magnanimous in not opposing this candidate, and if it obtained universal suffrage it must be respected." That is what was done October 31, 1861; that is, several months before the time that the contrary was told us in this building. The proof, gentlemen, is very clear and cannot be denied.

The following year we resumed the subject. You know, gentlemen, what obstacles the expedition had to surmount. We were again told, "We desire that the Archduke Maximilian should become emperor of Mexico, but no engagement to this effect has been made with him."

And when, with the authority of his word, the honorable M. Thiers said in this house that the engagement was inherent to the situation, everybody cried out. The honorable M. Granier de Cassagnac exclaimed, interrupting M. Thiers, that there was no engagement, and that the archduke set out because he wished to do so. The honorable Minister of State declared also that there was no engagement. And, gentlemen, the affair is too serious for me not to place before the Chamber the words which were uttered on this occasion.

In the session of January 27 M. Berryer said: "Is it true that the government has entered into no engagement binding the country either in a financial point of view or as concerning our soldiers? Is the country committed, or is it not?"

"*M. Rouher.* If you had read M. Larrabure's report you would have been enlightened on this subject."

"*M. Segris.* I request permission to say a word. The reply of the government organs which I find in the report, and which I bespeak for my share of the debate, is as follows: The Emperor's government declares that at present it has not entered into any engagement whatsoever, either to leave a corps of French troops in Mexico or to guarantee any loan, and that there is no reason to suppose it necessary to augment the French forces at present in Mexico."

Every one, with the exception perhaps of the opposition, whose mistrust in all that relates to this question appears to be incurable [smiles from several benches], placed confidence in the words of the honorable Minister of State. One member only, one of the most eminent, who has often occupied the seat of minister, and who knows all the weight attached to the words of a minister [murmurs], interrupted the reading. He can readily comprehend the reserve under which the honorable M. Rouher will seek a refuge, from which I have no intention to drive him. The honorable M. Thiers interrupted M. Segris by saying "at present." Upon this interruption of M. Thiers the *Moniteur* stated that a movement was produced in the assembly. This movement took place on the 27th of January, and on the 10th of April a convention, regulating the loan, the sojourn of our troops, and the payment of the Mexican coupons, was signed and engagements entered into, and upon too large a scale to have allowed them, on the 27th of January, to be avowed to the Chamber in the same terms in which the convention at Miramar was concluded on the 10th of April.

And now, habituated by our situation to moderate our desires [laughter and murmurs], we solicit you not to permit the convention of the 10th of April to be again overstepped, or that once more, before this Chamber, at the same date, you listening and the minister speaking, a session shall be held in which engagements shall be entered into upon the same terms, nothing more nor less, and then be carried out as in preceding years. . . .

I assert, gentlemen, that when a Chamber has been induced by the government to accept in perfect confidence that which has been proposed to it, and allowed itself to be led whither it would not have gone of its own accord, I assert that this Chamber has a right and a duty. It has been trustful; it must now resist. It cannot and should not in face of the minister, in face of the government, make use of parliamentary courtesy, because state affairs are not regulated by courtesy and excess of confidence. I leave all other questions to your discretion, gentlemen, but in the Mexican question we are released from this duty toward the government. You are searching, for the interest of the country, for that policy which this time you ought not to recommend timidly to your country; but--permit me the word—you should enjoin upon the government by a vote and a manifestation. We do not ask you to join our party; but can it be possible that, in a question where you think as we do, where the interest of France appears to you as it does to us, where you see your duty as clearly as we do, that a man should not rise up from your midst, were it but—were it but—I withdraw the word, and I wish it might be the honorable M. Segris, whom I just now quoted, who has withheld, as he says, the declaration of the government, and who certainly must have withheld it for more than a year. The honorable M. Segris said, "This is the declaration which has been made; I withhold it"; and the honorable M. Rouher added, "I withdraw nothing from it." The declaration is there; the engagement exists; and, since it does, it must be kept. What is it? It is the engagement entered into by the convention of 10th April, 1864, by the convention of Miramar; or rather it is the engagement entered into in these precincts, for the convention of 10th April, 1864, like all conventions that pass between sovereigns, and are not submitted to the assemblies, is not altogether in conformity with the policy that has been explained here and sustained by the organs of the government. It has a preface of which I would willingly hear the honorable minister give a different interpretation from mine; it is thus conceived:

"The governments of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and of his Majesty the Emperor of Mexico, actuated by an equal desire to secure the reëstablishment of order in Mexico, and to consolidate the new empire, have resolved to regulate by a convention—"

If nothing more is meant than a *desire,* I have no more to say; but if this "desire" contains the tacit and inevitable engagement which it is proposed to you to take in following this policy, the Chamber, which was not a party to this convention, and does not incline to this policy, must disengage itself from it. And in what manner must it do so? It must do that which was provided for by article 1 of the convention, thus expressed:

"The French troops that are now in Mexico shall be reduced as

soon as possible to 25,000 men, including the foreign legion. This corps will remain temporarily in Mexico, to protect the interests that led to this intervention, in conformity with the conditions regulated by the following articles."

Here I pause to remark to the government. You declared in the report of the honorable M. Larrabure, to which you called attention in the session I spoke of just now, . . . you declared the year 1864 should not pass away before the French troops should have returned to France.

. . . . . .

You see, gentlemen, in what manner I take the liberty of placing this question before you. It is clear and precise, and closely connected with the gravest interests of the country and your most imperious duties. I say that if you decide to vote the second part of our amendment, which runs thus: "In conformity with the declarations of the government we await the recall of our troops," you will explicitly express your wishes. If, however, you will not associate yourselves with an amendment which comes from our side, you can make one for yourselves which will express the same idea. By so doing you will, in my estimation, and as I said at the opening of this debate, render the most signal service to the government. You will disembarrass its policy. When it has been decided and acknowledged in the French Chamber that our troops can return with honor, without detriment to any one, the government then will no longer be restrained by these vain and egotistical reasons which were just now brought forward, but will be able to fulfil its secret desires, and conscientiously satisfy its political conduct. [Very good! from several benches.]

. . . . . .

And, now, gentlemen, I must beg you to note that whatever seeming irritation there may have been in our debate, I have carefully abstained, throughout the perplexing circumstances which surround our heavy task of duty, from saying a word about these threatening contingencies which hang over the question, and of which you are perfectly cognizant. [Murmurs.] On the other hand, you must judge whether it comports with it, comports with a true and judicious policy to keep thirty or forty thousand French troops and a portion of our fleet engaged for years in the Mexican expedition, three thousand leagues distant from the war we are actually carrying on in Algeria. Is it a sound policy? Is it a patriotic policy? Is it a policy which a French Chamber can accept? No! a thousand times no!

They did not dare to present it to you in this light when they drew you into this expedition; and can I forget that you constitute to-day the sovereign expression of the will of the nation? that when you speak, if you do speak, all, and the government before all, are bound

to obey? I conjure you, in the name of French interests, to speak, and to protect the government itself, and, above all, France. [Expressions of warm approbation around the speaker.]

President Schneider. The Minister of State has the floor.

His Excellency *M. Rouher,* Secretary of State. Gentlemen: Government does not ask you for a vote of trust; still less does it demand of you a vote of complaisance which you would not grant. It asks for your sincere, enlightened and free judgment on the affairs of Mexico [Very good]; and, in order to aid you in forming an opinion, it is its duty to inform you of the facts, and of its convictions concerning them.

. . . . . .

And now, gentlemen, let us examine the amendment. How is it worded?

"We deplore more than ever the blood flowing in Mexico for the benefit of a foreign prince, the disregard of popular sovereignty, and our policy committed to an erroneous course.

"We expect our troops to be recalled in accordance with the declarations of the government."

Such are the views of the opposition.

It certainly would require great courage for the majority to inflict on the government such unjust reproaches as those contained in your amendment. [Approbation.]

What! Must I plead here again a cause so often heard and decided? Must I recall the reasons which led to the Mexican expedition? [No, no; it is useless.] Must I repeat, gentlemen, that you have decided over and over again that the cause which took us to those far-off shores was just? Shall I have to vindicate the extreme prudence of the convention of 1861 between the three powers bent on avenging the insults of their citizens? Is there not in the fact of this union of three great powers uniting in the convention of 1861 a most complete and energetic answer to your painful amendment? Do you believe England and Spain would have signed that convention with France had it contemplated a violation of national sovereignty? There is neither reason nor truth in all this. And I may add, while I am about it, that when you are told that the convention was not first submitted to the Corps Législatif, the same might be said of England and Spain, two constitutional countries, two parliamentary governments such as some orators in this house like them.

The convention of 1861 was not submitted first to the parliaments of either England or Spain, for such things are done even in parliamentary governments.

We are told, gentlemen, that we can now make a treaty with the imperial government of Mexico; that if we had some ground for refusing last year to make a treaty with Juarez or Almonte, we are

now in the presence of a regular government, and can make one with the emperor of Mexico.

What sort of a treaty do you wish us to make? What treaty could we make with Mexico? Have we not made the treaty of Miramar? Does it not exactly define our position? Have not our debts been liquidated? Have not the rights of our injured fellow-citizens been defined and guaranteed? What treaty are you talking about?

I really did not expect that the Hon. M. Picard would, for tne sake of his arguments, revive that unfortunate advice formerly rejected. What! Do you need to remind the house of your proposition to withdraw the troops from Mexico, made immediately after the repulse at Puebla? Have you forgotten the feelings of indignation and the murmurs which that proposition excited? [Approbation.] Have you forgotten how the Corps Législatif disposed of that proposition last year of treating with Juarez or Almonte, and how it was ridiculed by the public? [Approbation.] No, there is nothing serious in all you say to us.

The truth is that we have accomplished a great undertaking in Mexico; that, legitimately called upon to avenge our wrongs in that extensive country, we have established in it order, civilization and liberty [approbation]; that we have driven out anarchy and civil war; and that in a few years that country shall bless France, and contribute to the development of its commerce and grandeur.

That our troops should remain a few months longer in Mexico; that they should not return at the precise time appointed by you, as well as by Juarez also, what matters it indeed? I am fully aware that, encouraged by reports from France, Juarez writes, "I shall weary them out and make the troops return to France; France desires it." He believes it! Well, let him know that he is mistaking the opposition for France. [Ironical laughter on many benches. Approbation.]

. . . . . .

But we must close this debate. [Yes, yes!] Well, I have said, and I repeat, that the French expedition to Mexico was a great thing; that by that expedition France has opened to civilization an extensive country. Let her flag remain there a few months longer to overcome the last obstacles to destroy those banditti—the scum of revolutions. What matter a few months more? The end must be gained, the pacification complete. The dignity of France and that of the Emperor both require it. The French army must return to our shores only when its work shall be accomplished, and all the resistance it met with overcome. [Approbation and applause.]

From all sides: The vote! the vote!

The President. The vote on the amendment will be taken.

M. Maguin. Mr. President, there is a demand for a ballot.

The President. A demand for a ballot has been handed to me signed by Messrs. Jules Favre, Garnier-Pagès, Maguin, Marié, Dorian, Carnot, Ernest Picard, Glais-Bizoin, and Eugène Pelletan. In consequence, the vote on the amendment shall be taken by ballot.

The ballot is taken, and the result is as follows:

Number of votes, 241; majority, 121. For the amendment, 16; against, 225.

The Corps Législatif does not accept the amendment.

CORPS LÉGISLATIF OF FRANCE, SESSION OF SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1865

DEBATE ON THE AMENDMENT OF THE NINETEENTH PARAGRAPH OF THE ADDRESS

Translated from the Moniteur, April 16, 1865

President Schneider. Messrs. Bethmont, Carnot, Dorian, Jules Favre, Garnier-Pagès, Glais-Bizoin, Guéroult, Havin, Herron, Lanjuinais, J. Maguin, Marié, E. Pelletan, E. Picard, Jules Simon, move that at the conclusion of the nineteenth paragraph these additional words be appended:

"We have declared from the commencement [of the war?] our sympathies for the United States of America. Thanks to their heroic efforts, slavery is abolished.

"We shall rejoice to witness the reëstablishment of the powerful republic of the United States, the natural ally of France, and we shall hail with joy a triumph which has cost nothing to the cause of liberty."

M. Pelletan has the floor to develop this amendment.

M. E. Pelletan. I do not desire either for the Chamber or for myself to prolong the debate, not even to pronounce an oration *in extremis* at the death-bed of our last amendment, for I suppose it will have no happier fate than its predecessors. [Noise to the vote.] I have but a word to say upon this emendation, the object of which is to make reparation for an omission. In fact, no allusion to North America is made in the address from the crown, nor in the draft of our address (*projet d'adresse*), nor even in the *Livre Jaune,* which contains but a blank page for what concerns America.

Now, the American question is sufficiently important to be treated with less reserve; besides, at the present time, all discussion is useless, for at this very moment while I am speaking the victorious sound of

Grant and of Sherman has decided the question. Richmond is taken. The slaveholding rebellion is stricken to the earth, and the American republic is reinstated in its majestic unity. [Noise.] Do not laugh, gentlemen; you may be heard on the other side of the Atlantic. [Renewed noise.] For four years the United States of America have borne the weight of civil war, and never for an instant during the whole of this grievous ordeal have they entertained an idea of suspending the liberties of the people; never have they opened the door of arbitrary power through which crime so often finds a passage. [Votes! votes!] The executive authority has been allowed to protect itself by legality under the fire of the enemy. This page of American history is the most illustrious page of the nineteenth century.

President Lincoln has been fully aware that he held the destinies of the New World in his hands, and he has shown himself equal to the emergency; he has abolished slavery, and he has founded a second time the glorious American republic.

Numerous Voices: The votes! the votes!

M. Eugène Pelletan. It seems to me that wherever anything great and admirable is done, there ought France to be present. For this reason I desire to send our heartfelt felicitations to the other side of the ocean.

The amendment was rejected—195 votes against it, and 24 for it, out of 219 voting.

BIGELOW TO THOMAS POTTER

Paris, April 18, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I congratulate you with all my heart upon your success. To have been thought by any four or five hundred men worthy to occupy the seat in Parliament which has been filled by Cobden, is a distinction of no ordinary character. I pray that you may be blessed with his wisdom, his patriotism, his tolerant spirit, and his firmness to carry on the great work of dignifying labor in England, for which he did so much—to be the Joshua to a cause of which he was the Moses.

Please present my felicitations also to Mrs. Potter, in which Mrs. Bigelow desires to unite.

Yours very sincerely

BIGELOW TO ARTHUR ALBRIGHT

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 18, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Though my health is improving, it is not sufficiently restored to admit of my joining you to-day at M. Laboulaye's. Nor, if I were well, should I properly enjoy the pleasure—it would be a very great one—of meeting and conferring with the gentlemen whose attendance is expected, on questions of such profound interest to my country and humanity as those embraced in your call. I do not feel that I should consult the wishes of my Government or of my country people generally by uniting in an appeal to the people of a foreign state for pecuniary relief from any of the consequences of the war now waging in the United States.

This of course renders it impossible that I should comply with your request in regard to a letter to be used at the meeting, which under other circumstances it would have given me great pleasure to write.

Should our French friends feel disposed to interest themselves specially in the Freedmen of the United States, I authorize you to say, what many of them know already, that all the resources of my Legation will be placed at their disposal for the supply of such information as may be needed to give to their benevolence the most advantageous direction.

I am, Sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 18, 1865.

Sir:

The momentous news of Lee's flight from Richmond has just reached us. We are trying to be grateful, as we should be, for such a signal discomfiture of the enemies of civilization. We

are prepared to exclaim with the prophet, "Behold! the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither His ear heavy that it cannot hear." That some ear has heard and some hand has saved is the universal feeling here, even among those who were most anxious for a different result. It is now generally conceded by the European press of every political persuasion that the rebels have about reached the point where they should be handed over to the police.

I enclose translations from some of the public journals published the day after the news reached Paris, by which you will see how conclusive upon the question of a disunion of our republic the discomfiture and flight of Lee was regarded.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosure No. 1]

Translated from L'Opinion Nationale, April 16, 1865

Richmond is fallen. After a bloody battle of no less than three days' duration Grant has taken possession of the capital of the slave-holding States, and Lee is routed.

Forty thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners! This enormous loss falls as a death-blow upon the secessionists, who, before this final check, had already drained all their resources, and found no prospect of being able to continue the war, unless by arming the blacks.

The south loses, moreover, along with Richmond, all that it yet retained of prestige or moral influence. It has no longer a centre around which to rally. Its government has become a wanderer. Born of the rebellion, it will die on a battle-field.

The fall of the south is for us—and we proclaim it loudly—a great, an immense source of joy and of gratification. Blood will cease to flow, the Union is restored, and America, which the folly of the secessionists threatened to lead into the tyrannical and ruinous system of standing armies like those of Europe—America, whom secession might have brought to be ruled by the sword—America will continue to flourish in liberty, and to give to the Old World an example which it cannot long continue to disregard or reject.

Another cause, also, a cause dear to civilization, to justice, and to humanity, triumphs with the north—it is the cause of abolitionism.

The colored race may rejoice now. Its fetters are forever broken. The African is a freeman in the free republic of the United States; and in resuming his place as a man, he insures the same privilege—no, the same indemnity—to his brethren in Brazil, in Cuba and Porto Rico.

Let us, then, return a fitting homage of praise and thanksgiving to the men who in the New World so well deserve the thanks of humanity, progress, and liberty; to President Lincoln, who has advanced so firmly on the difficult road which duty pointed out to him; to Mr. Seward, who, in these difficult circumstances, in the midst of serious and ceaselessly recurring complications, has succeeded in keeping his country from the dangers of a foreign war; to General Grant, who has so ably directed the military operations; and to General Sherman, who, in his wonderful expeditions, evinced still more the daring of genius than the genius of daring.

We can now rest assured that peace shall soon reign from the frontiers of British America to the Gulf of Mexico. But other horizons are unfolding before us at the same time. Shall the United States manage to keep on good terms with the two great powers of western Europe?

We hope so; and, in the despatch which we publish, we see that Mr. Seward has declared the firm intention of the cabinet to uphold the doctrine of non-intervention, and to abstain from any attack on the English possessions.

Is it by forgetfulness that the despatch omits mentioning Mexico by the side of Canada?

[Enclosure No. 2]

Translated from Le Constitutionnel, April 16, 1865

The Confederates have just met with a loss which may appear irreparable. After three days of hotly contested struggle, Richmond (their capital) and Petersburg have been occupied by the Federal troops. General Lee has retreated in the direction of Lynchburg, closely followed by General Grant, who expected to be able to overtake him and to disperse the remainder of his army. This may appear an easy task, if it be true, as stated by correspondents, that the Confederates had lost 15,000 men killed or wounded, 25,000 prisoners, and 100 or 200 cannon.

The despatches bringing this important news state that it excited great enthusiasm throughout the north. It would seem, indeed, to herald the close of the war, and the final triumph of the United States.

But it will not be sufficient for them to have conquered; the most important point will be for them to make a moderate use of their victory, and to pursue not only at home, but abroad also, a conciliating and moderate policy.

In this respect, the speech made by Mr. Seward, at Washington, gives us a comforting pledge of the intention of the government of the United States. The honorable Secretary of State declared that, if the people approved of it, the President intended, after the end of this war, to follow a policy of non-intervention. He added that if England would only give evidence of fairness and justice towards the United States, nothing would be attempted against Canada.

This puts an end to those apprehensions which some sought to propagate concerning the possible consequences of the war in America coming to an end. The United States will attend to their own affairs without wishing to interfere in any way with those of neighboring nations. After all the losses they have to make up, it must be admitted that this is the only wise, practical policy, the only one which is in accordance with their true interests.

[Enclosure No. 3]

Translated from Le Temps, April 16, 1865

The decisive news from the United States, which we publish to-day, marks one of the most important eras in the nineteenth century, and in history in general. It is impossible to overrate its importance. It is not only the probable and speedy end of a war whose duration and severity afflicted humanity, and of which Europe so sorely felt the consequences; it is not only the fortunate, though dearly bought, abolition of slavery; it is a victory of inestimable importance for the liberal interests of the whole world.

We may testify of ourselves that never, not even in the darkest times, did we entertain any doubt of the final result. Not only (admitting the perseverance and readiness to make sacrifices to have been equal on both sides) were the resources of the north far superior, and almost inexhaustible, but the faith we have in the destinies of humanity warned us that Washington's work should not perish, and that the great American republic would pass triumphantly through this ordeal. The trial was deserved, for they had tolerated slavery; but if history has any meaning, if it records anything beyond the action of blind forces, they were to come out of it victors. God forbid that we should insult the fallen! They defended heroically, with might and main, a cause which they believed to be just. But

they were wrong. They had departed from the path of justice. We should respect their misfortune; we should have compassion on it; but we must also rejoice over their defeat, for their victory would have been a misfortune to humanity.

The United States shall emerge from this crisis, not weakened and diminished, but invigorated and strengthened; with a public debt which they had not before, but which they will carry easily, and with a new consciousness of their might and power. They have with the utmost ease expended an amount of force, and we may even add committed a waste of resources, such as we find no example of in history. They have pursued the avocations of peace while carrying on a terrible war. Their institutions, represented as so weak, have stood the test, and they have succeeded in finding great and successful generals who saved the country without touching on its liberty. Slavery is dead; the republic still standing; and civil war, instead of being the death-blow of liberty, has but promoted and strengthened it. Such results are a novelty in history, and great and happy is the nation which first produced them.

A. NEFFTZER.

[Enclosure No. 4.—Extract]

Translated from the Moniteur du Soir, April 16, 1865

. . . . . .

After this bloody battle, which lasted three days, from the 1st to the 3d of April, Lee retreated to the southwest, in the direction of Lynchburg. Grant immediately put himself in pursuit of the Confederate army, and his last despatches announce his hope of overtaking him before he has time to reorganize.

Richmond is in flames, Grant having prepared to destroy this city in order to pursue Lee, without fear of anything in his rear.

[Enclosure No. 5]

Translated from the Epoque, April 16, 1865

The interest of all other foreign news pales to-day before the great news we receive from America. General Grant has taken Richmond and Petersburg, after three days of fighting. We had long foreseen and predicted this result, but the success of the Federal arms appears to

have been still more brilliant and complete than could be expected. The Confederate capital is wrapped in flames—kindled by its late defenders, perhaps. Half of the southern army are prisoners of war or destroyed. The remainder are with difficulty retiring, pursued without cease by the victors. It is a wonder if they escape from the overwhelming forces which surround them. Any desperate effort they might yet make would be useless. Their only resource is to disperse.

There is no longer any southern army, any southern confederacy; there is only peace in prospect—necessary, forced, inevitable peace. This is not the time when we should attempt to analyze the results of this triumph of the Union. It is sufficient to foresee them. We know what war produces; who can tell what peace will bring forth?

A. Claneau.

[Enclosure No. 6.—Extracts]

Translated from Le Pays, April 16, 1865

The news from New York, via Crookhaven, confirms our previsions. A bloody encounter has taken place between the armies of the north and south. After three days of a frightful struggle the Federal troops have taken possession of Richmond and Petersburg. It was on Monday, the 3d of April, that the Federals entered the capital of the Confederate States, which they found in flames.

The battle which compelled Lee to evacuate Richmond must have been hotly contested, for some correspondents estimate that general's loss at 15,000 men killed or wounded, 25,000 prisoners, and 100 to 200 cannons; that of the Federals is estimated at 7000 men killed or wounded.

. . . . . .

We may consider this as ending one of the longest and most bloody periods of the American war. Yet we must not, from the results obtained, conclude that the struggle is at an end, and that the south is going to lay down its arms.

The energy of its resistance, the perseverance it has shown in defending its independence, the certainty it has acquired that it can only obtain peace by submitting to hard conditions—all these considerations will certainly maintain the secessionists in arms. The aspect only of the war shall be changed: it will be a guerrilla warfare —terrible, merciless, and of which it is at present impossible to foresee the end.

In a speech he made at Washington, Mr. Seward said that, if the

people approved of it, the government would, after the end of the war, pursue a policy of non-intervention. If England acts fairly towards the United States, added the Secretary of State, Canada shall not be disturbed. This promise of non-intervention seems to indicate that the government at Washington is not fully confident in the future.

L. CHAUVET.

Of Lincoln's Inaugural Address at the commencement of his second term as President, March 4, Gladstone is reported to have said, April 18:

I am taken captive by so striking an utterance as this. I see in it the effect of sharp trial, when rightly borne, to raise men to a higher level of thought and feeling. It is by cruel suffering that nations are sometimes born to a better life; so it is with individual men. Mr. Lincoln's words show that upon him anxiety and sorrow have wrought their true effect.

No doubt the passage of the Inaugural which inspired these words was its closing sentences, which have now taken rank among the most enduring of English classics:

The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the

right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Very Confidential

Paris, April 19, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

I understand that Gwin has obtained the promise of the Emperor to furnish him as many soldiers as he requires to protect him and his men in their mining operations. My authority for this at second hand is Colonel Duncan of Miss., who stated the circumstance in vindication of his intention to invest in the new Mexican loan, which the government is about bringing out, and to go to join Gwin in Mexico. He says that after what has occurred he cannot live in the United States, and he has determined to strike out for a career in Mexico.

The new French loan, as you will see by the advertisement in *Galignani,* is for an inconsiderable sum; too little to afford any very substantial relief. My impression is that it is gotten up by Fould and a few others of that ilk, upon whose shoulders the previous loan settled for the want of any popular support, and who are now hoping in this way to change the saddle to some other backs. The tone of Rouher's speech about Mexico and the articles in the *Moniteur* and the amiable deductions of the *France* and *Constitutionnel* from your speech, etc., are all designed to help this loan along, for the special benefit of the financial coterie about this court, of which De Morny was the moving spirit.

Yours, etc.

BIGELOW TO CHARLES SUMNER

PARIS, April 21, 1865.

My dear Sir:

. . . . . .

For your kind letter and your kind vote when I was made Chargé I feel very grateful, and I wish you would run over here this summer between showers, that I might thank you. The recent successes of our arms have extinguished the last hopes of our disruption, and the foul beasts who were preparing to batten upon our national carcass are at their wits' end. I agree with you that peace is our policy, and I am disposed to make the path of repentance as short and easy as possible.

I have been ill and shut up for a week, so as to see nobody, except such as have called, but I am going out this afternoon, when I shall know a little more precisely the cue this govt. will take. Illness prevented my presenting my credentials on Sunday last. The news of the evacuation of Richmond reached here on Saturday. I am told that I have gained the reputation of a profound diplomat for my cunning in not waiting upon the Emperor till I had received dispatches written by the light of the new situation. That is what is called here smart. The Duke de Cambacérès was heard to remark at a dinner-table that of course I would not see the Govt. till I had read my dispatches, and other diplomats assented to the entire propriety of my course, while I, poor devil, was lying racked by fever on my bed. This is all for *you* only.

Truly yours

GEORGE P. MARSH TO BIGELOW

TURIN, April 22, 1865.

Dear Sir:

. . . . . .

I hope our late wonderful victories are bringing us to the beginning of the end, but I am shocked and disgusted with the

maudlin trash of the *N. Y. Times* and of Henry Ward Beecher about conciliation and compromise.

If such wretches as Davis and Toombs & Wise & Lee & Forrest & Mosby are to be pardoned and welcomed back with open arms, I am for opening all our penitentiary doors and pensioning & promoting the inmates. All this is an exhibition of that weak sympathy with criminals, which is one of the strongest proofs of the demoralization of the age; and we shall soon come to the condition of Italy, where all pity and charity are reserved for brigands and murderers. Death at the hands of an assassin is a natural demise; the punishment of a murderer alone is murder.

Yours very truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 28, 1865.

Sir:

In reply to an application I made personally to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 7th inst., I received a notice from the Grand Master of Ceremonies that I would have an opportunity of presenting the letters which accredit me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near his Imperial Majesty on Sunday the 16th inst.

I found myself too ill to avail myself of this opportunity, and on Tuesday the 18th I made a written application, of which enclosure No. 1 is a copy, for another. On Thursday the 20th I was notified by the Grand Master of Ceremonies that I would be received on the following Sunday, the 23rd instant, at 3 o'clock. I was waited upon by one of the Chamberlains in an Imperial carriage and conducted to the Palace, when I was duly presented to His Majesty.

In handing my letters of credence I addressed to His Majesty a few remarks, of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy.[1]

His Majesty, as nearly as I can remember, replied that he

[1] Substantially in the language suggested in Mr. Seward's letter conveying the notice of my appointment.

was very happy to receive me, for he knew how well disposed my feelings were towards his country. He was happy to receive the assurance which I gave him of the friendly wishes of the President. He felt the kindest feelings towards the United States and intimated that the two countries had a common interest in maintaining good relations with each other. He said he hoped that the peace which, according to the news just received (the report of Lee's surrender had only just reached Paris), seemed now very near, would not prejudice those relations, nor did he fear it while the United States government was inspired by the sentiments which I had expressed and which I would represent. He begged me to say this to my Government, and concluded by again speaking of the gratification he had in welcoming me at the Palace by my new title.

After a brief desultory conversation about the news of Lee's surrender, I retired, and was almost immediately conducted to the Empress, to whom I had already been promised a presentation after my reception by the Emperor.

Her Majesty expressed gratification that my residence in Paris was to be continued. She asked about the prospects of a peace in America and showed by the form of her inquiry that she had not yet received the news of Lee's surrender, which I had the satisfaction of communicating to her. She immediately asked what would be the condition of the slaves—if they would be free. I replied that, unless some stipulations were made which had not transpired, slavery was ended in the United States. Her Majesty wished to know if we did not intend to indemnify the proprietors for the loss of their slaves. I replied that slavery was a local institution in the United States and that each state would act as it saw fit in reference to the indemnity of the former proprietors. "Ah, indeed, is that so? I did not know that," was her reply. She asked what we would now do with all our army. I replied that we should put them to work. At this Her Majesty laughed heartily and said, "Yes, they will have need to go to work, but what to do?" I am not sure, but I think Her Majesty suspected me of intending to give a double meaning to my reply, and I went on promptly to say that when our soldiers could get in civil employments, as they now could, about twice their pay in the army, they would not be reluctant to abandon the military career. "But," she added, "how will it be with the officers?" I

replied that in America military officers did not enjoy the prestige which belongs to the same class in the old countries of Europe. "Here," said I, "it has been necessary to stimulate the military spirit by decorations and privileges of various kinds which invite talent and ambition into the Army, whereas with us there is nothing of the sort; the military man has no social or political prestige which necessarily attaches to his rank or profession."

She then wanted to know what we meant to do after the peace, and, in trying to make her question more precise, seemed a little embarrassed and finally said: "Are you going to be aggressive? What did Mr. Seward mean by his speech about having no controversy with England if she is just? I would like to know how you translate that word just."

I said that I did not suppose that Mr. Seward meant to attach any recondite significance to the word, but he meant probably to intimate that if England allowed vessels to be fitted out in her ports to prey upon our commerce she must give us a just indemnification for their depredations; "in fact," said I, "it is almost a commonplace to say that we expect justice, for Your Majesty knows that all nations expect justice and will fight rather than submit to injustice."

"But," said Her Majesty, "how will it be about Canada? Won't your people want to go to Canada?" "No," I replied. "If Canada chooses to come to us, we shall treat her hospitably, as we treat all the world; but we want nothing of her, and so long as the Canadians are content to live under the government of their excellent Queen, she has nothing to apprehend from us. In fact," said I, "we have no disposition to interfere in any way whatever with other governments or peoples. The nature of our political institutions makes ours one of the strongest governments in the world for defence and one of the weakest in the world for aggression, for the simple reason that no war can be successfully waged by our Government which does not have the cordial support of the bulk of the population, and it is difficult to imagine any war, except for our national existence, which could command such support."

Her Majesty wished to know if what she evidently meant to designate as the mob, without wishing to use the term, might not overrule the statesmen and engage the country in a war.

I replied that we had no numerous class of the kind Her

Majesty referred to; that with us everybody read the papers and had a tolerable familiarity with current political events; that, by the aid of the telegraph, the best thought in Washington and the latest intelligence could be read simultaneously on the shores of the Pacific and on the shores of the Atlantic and on the Gulf of Mexico; that the pulse of the whole nation beat in accord with its heart, so that there was never a large class far behind the Government in a knowledge of and a just appreciation of the national interests. Her Majesty asked several other questions, but I do not know that they would throw any additional light upon the tenor of the interview. As I was about leaving, she said she hoped France and the United States would always be friends, and she was sure I would do all I could to make them friends. I replied that it would be my duty as well as my pleasure to do so.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Confidential

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 28, 1865.

Sir:

There were some circumstances which took place in advance of my audience on Sunday last which, for reasons that will occur to you on reading, I have not thought it proper to incorporate into my account of that ceremonial. As stated in that dispatch, I was too ill on the 16th to avail myself of the opportunity accorded by the Emperor of presenting my credentials on that day. Under the advice of my physician, I notified the Grand Master of Ceremonies the day previous by enclosure No. 1. On Tuesday following I renewed my application for an audience by a note of which enclosure No. 2 is a copy.

On Thursday, and before I had yet left my apartment, I was surprised by a note from the Grand Master of Ceremonies, of which enclosure No. 3 is a copy, designating the 23rd of August next for my reception. As the Emperor was in town

and the day of his departure on his contemplated trip to Algeria was not yet fixed, I was quite at a loss to comprehend the motive for deferring my audience four months, the more so as I was almost daily receiving from the Court on every side flattering marks of consideration.

I took a day to reflect upon what I should do, and on Saturday morning addressed a note, of which enclosure No. 4 is a copy, to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. Early in the afternoon I received the notes of which enclosures Nos. 5 and 6 are copies from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I chose to accept this letter, for what it was evidently intended, as evidence that a clerical error in writing "Août" for "Avril" had been committed in the bureau of the Grand Master of Ceremonies, and thereupon I immediately addressed the note of which enclosure No. 7 is a copy to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. Within an hour I received the note of which enclosure No. 8 is a copy, covering my original note No. 2, which I had enclosed in my note No. 7, and also the original note No. 4.

The following day a chamberlain arrived at the hour designated and conducted me in an Imperial coach, as reported in my dispatch No. 82.

I will anticipate the question which I fancy you are preparing to ask. No, I do not think it was a clerical mistake. I think August was written deliberately and under orders from the Emperor, not with any unfriendly purpose, but under the impression that I had not assigned the true motive for not availing myself of the opportunity first proffered. The propensity which exists everywhere to a greater or less extent, but nowhere more than in Paris, to assign other than the avowed or apparent motives for the acts of public men led my illness to be attributed to diplomatic causes. It was stated by a prominent officer at the court, as an evidence of a very correct sense of official duty on my part, that after the important news just received—the flight of Lee from Richmond—I had feigned an excuse not to see the Emperor until fresh instructions might reach me from home.

Another report current in diplomatic circles was that I wished, by postponing the audience, to express my dissatisfaction with the reception given by the Administration members of the Corps Législatif to the amendment proposed to the address which related to the United States. These reports

may have obtained a certain credit at the Palace and led to the designation of a reception day so remote as to mark the dissatisfaction of the Court if a cause for dissatisfaction existed, and yet capable of being changed, under the pretence of a clerical error, into the earliest day likely to be chosen for such a ceremonial.

I am the more confirmed in this impression as I have received no apology for the mistake from the Grand Master of Ceremonies, who would naturally have made such a serious blunder, if it was a blunder, the subject of a communication.

My note to Drouyn de Lhuys, enclosure No. 4, I presume dispelled all doubt of the good faith in which I had been acting, and the reply of M. Drouyn de Lhuys as well as my reception at the Palace convinced me that if the audience was in the first instance put off by the Emperor to the 23rd August it was done so merely from his sense of what he thought due to his own self-respect.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

[Enclosure No. 2 to Dispatch No. 83]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 18, 1865.

Sir:

The illness which deprived me of the pleasure of seeing Your Excellency on Friday last deprived me also of the honor of waiting upon their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, on Sunday.

I am happy to say that my health is now substantially reestablished, and I will thank Your Excellency to ascertain when it will be agreeable to their Majesties to favor me with a second opportunity of presenting to them my diplomatic credentials and my personal homage.

I propose to do myself the honor of waiting personally upon Your Excellency on Thursday next, unless I am given to un-

derstand it will be equally or more convenient to Your Excellency to receive me on some earlier day.

Meantime I beg to assure Your Excellency of the high consideration with which I have the honor to remain, etc.

CAMBACÉRÈS, GRAND MASTER OF CEREMONIES, TO BIGELOW

[Enclosure No. 3 to Dispatch No. 83]

Translation

PARIS, April 20, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you, after taking anew the commands of the Emperor, that His Majesty will receive you in public audience, for the delivery of your credentials, on Sunday the 23rd of August, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

A Master of Ceremonies will have the honor to call for you at your residence with a court carriage to conduct you to the palace of the Tuileries.

Please, sir, to accept the assurances of my high consideration.

BIGELOW TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

[Enclosure No. 4 to Dispatch No. 83]

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America presents his compliments to His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to represent that on the 11th inst. he was notified by His Excellency the Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial household that His Majesty the Emperor had been graciously pleased to designate Sunday the 16th inst. for the reception of the undersigned and the presentation of the letters which accredit him near the Emperor in the capacity of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

On the day designated and for several days previous, the undersigned found himself so ill as to be quite unfit to leave his apartment, of which fact His Excellency the Grand Master of Ceremonies was notified on the Saturday previous.

On Tuesday the 18th inst. and as soon as his physician pronounced the health of the undersigned sufficiently re-established to justify such a step, he renewed his application to Your Excellency for a second opportunity of presenting his credentials. On Thursday the 20th the undersigned received a second communication from His Excellency the Grand Master of Ceremonies announcing that the Emperor had been pleased to designate the 23rd of August next for such presentation.

The undersigned feels constrained to attribute the selection of this remote day for the ceremonial in question to some motive of which he is ignorant and of which his government ought to be apprised. He therefore respectfully requests that His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs will have the goodness to enlighten him upon the subject, unless His Excellency desires the undersigned to accept the inevitable inference that the President of the United States has been so unfortunate as to have selected as a representative of the United States in France a gentleman who has not the happiness to be acceptable to His Imperial Majesty.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew assurances of the high consideration with which he has the honor to be His Excellency's

Very obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

THE GRAND MASTER OF CEREMONIES TO BIGELOW

[Enclosure No. 6 to Dispatch No. 83]

Translation

PARIS, April 20, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the Emperor will receive in public audience on Sunday the 23rd of

April, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, at the palace of the Tuileries, Mr. Bigelow, the Minister of the United States of America, for the delivery of his credentials.

Please, sir, to accept the assurances of my high consideration.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

[Enclosure No. 7 to Dispatch No. 83]

My dear M. Drouyn de Lhuys:

If your Excellency will read the enclosed communication received on Thursday from the Duke de Cambacérès perhaps my note of this morning will be more intelligible.

Your Excellency's note of this afternoon, with its enclosure, relieves me from a most painful suspense.

As my note seems to have been provoked by a clerical mistake in the bureau of the Grand Master of Ceremonies, I wish your Excellency to consider it as not having been written. Your Excellency may return it, if you please, with the enclosed note from the Duke de Cambacérès, at your Excellency's convenience.

Hoping your Excellency has entirely recovered from your late indisposition, I remain very respectfully and sincerely yours

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

[Enclosure No. 8 to Dispatch No. 83]

Translation

Dear Sir:

A thousand thanks for your little note. Enclosed I send back all the papers to you, to make away with all traces of this mistake, which is entirely unknown to the Emperor. I shall take care to recommend that more attention be paid to avoid such mistakes in the office of the Grand Master of Ceremonies.

Yours very sincerely

April 22, 1865.

At the close of an official visit to our consulate at Brest, and after taking the cars for my return to Paris, I received the following dispatch from my clerk at the legation:

Mr. Bigelow, aux soins de Mr. Kerroz, Consul des États-Unis à Brest:

Telegram received at Paris Bourse from London at 2 o'clock. President Lincoln assassinated. An attempt against Seward failed.

PROESCHEL.[1]

It was a clap of thunder from a clear sky!

I was glad to be secure of several hours' journey in the cars, surrounded by strangers and left alone to my reflections.

The loss the country had sustained, and the consequences of it at home, were their engrossing topic. A Tennessee man was already President. Of him I knew nothing but that he displaced Mr. Hamlin as Vice-President because he was one of the very few men from a slave State who had boldly fought against the Rebellion and advocated President Lincoln's election. To this fact mainly if not entirely I knew he owed the position which a dispensation of Providence had suddenly made him exchange for the Presidency. Of him personally I knew little except that my friend Senator Preston King was one of Johnson's friends and enjoyed a large measure of his confidence. Of his resources as an executive officer in existing emergencies I had no conception. My journey home was depressing, and I am not sure that I entirely escaped a suspicion that the Lord's hand was shortened, not because it could not, but because it would not, save.

THURLOW WEED TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 16, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Are we not in the midst of a Revolution? The President dead. The Secretary of state frightfully gashed about the

[1] A scribe of the Legation in Paris.

throat and face. The Assistant with his head shockingly lacerated, and his life suspended upon a thread.

The assassin escaped. The sentinels had information of the conspiracy, but neither the President nor Secretary of war were alarmed. They had become accustomed to such things.

I believe that Seward will survive, but he has passed through two fearful ordeals.

Mr. Johnson is President! He is calm, and all passed well yesterday. Preston King is with him.

Truly yours

THURLOW WEED TO BIGELOW

New York, April 26, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

How events rush upon us! Recovering from the shock of Assassinations, comes Sherman's blunder to astound and humiliate the Country. But perhaps all is needed to work out the grand end?

Seward will recover, but I greatly fear that Frederick is doomed. You see how admirably Johnson breaks ground. There is hope through and with him.

I dare not tell all about the Bennett [1] matter on paper. It was a curious complication for which two well-meaning friends were responsible. Seward knew nothing about it until the Election was over, when he sent for me. I was amazed at what had transpired.

Mr. Henderson's trial was to have come on this month. He was surrounded by old contractors by whom he was tempted and fell. The war made the business of his Bureau immense. He made open contracts amounting to millions, and received large commissions. I have not personally moved at all against him since his indictment. Messrs. Evarts and Pierrepont hope to prevent a conviction.

Harriet talks with me very often about going abroad, and

[1] This is a reference to the nomination by the President of the late James Gordon Bennett as successor to Mr. Dayton, which Mr. Bennett, however, declined.

we may pack up in May or June, though one dislikes to leave the Country in such disturbed times.

Mr. Nicolay is an intelligent, honorable man, with a bilious temperament. I *think* you will like him. Hay is a bright, gifted young man, with agreeable manners and refined tastes. I don't believe that he has been spoiled, though he has been exposed. If he remains the modest young man he was, I am *sure* you will like him.[1]

Gen. Scott has just made a strong appeal to me to do what you used to ask so kindly; and yesterday Frank Granger urged the same thing.[2]

I am interrupted, and must say that I am, ever and truly,

Yours

[1] Mr. Hay was to come as First Secretary of Legation, and Mr. Nicolay as Consul. Both had been confidential secretaries of President Lincoln.

[2] To leave an autobiographic record of his long and varied experiences as a political journalist.

IX

LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION—REVERBERATION OF IT IN EUROPE

W. HUNTER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 27, 1865.

My dear Sir:

YOU are already aware of the causes which devolve upon me the duty of acknowledging the receipt of your very interesting private letter of the 7th instant to Mr. Seward, and of its two accompaniments.

I am happy to inform you that the Secretary has been able to ride out yesterday and to-day, and it is quite probable that in the course of a fortnight he will be able to a certain extent to attend to business. Mr. F. W. Seward is reported by his physicians as in a condition to inspire good hopes of his ultimate recovery, though the process must of course, from the nature of his injuries, be slow.

I remain, my dear sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, April 28, 1865.

Sir:

An aide-de-camp of the Emperor called early yesterday morning at the legation, officially to testify the horror and sor-

row which his Majesty experienced on learning the crime which had just deprived the United States of its President. On the receipt of the first report, his Majesty had refused to credit it, but a second despatch later in the evening left no room to doubt its correctness. It was then too late to send to the legation, but the aide-de-camp was instructed to come at an early hour the next morning to express the sentiments of his Majesty, and to request, on behalf of the Emperor, that I would transmit an expression of them to the Vice-President.

It is my duty to add my conviction that his Majesty, in the communication which he has requested me to make, is but a faithful interpreter of the sentiments of his subjects, who have received the intelligence with a unanimous expression of horror for the crime and of sympathy for its victims.

You will find some of the evidence of this in the journals which I send you.

I have been occupied most of the afternoon in receiving deputations from students and others, who have called to testify their sorrow and sympathy. Unfortunately, their feelings were so demonstrative in some instances as to provoke the intervention of the police, who would only allow them in very limited numbers through the streets. One of the delegations told me that there were three thousand of them who would have wished to have united in a formal expression of their feelings, if the police had not stopped them. I am sorry to hear that some have been sent to prison in consequence of an intemperate expression of their feelings. I can now count sixteen policemen from my window patrolling in the neighborhood, who occasionally stop persons calling to see me, and in some instances, I am told, send them away.

I had no idea that Mr. Lincoln had such a hold upon the heart of the young gentlemen of France, or that his loss would be so properly appreciated.

I have received many letters of condolence already from distinguished citizens, of which I send copies of two; the first from his excellency Drouyn de Lhuys, and the second from his imperial highness Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte.

I must reserve for another mail the expression of my own feelings under a dispensation which has almost paralyzed me, and which yet seems to me like the revelations of a troubled dream. I hope this may find you recovering from your

wounds, and mercifully sustained under the great trials with which God has been pleased to visit you and yours.

I am, sir, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

PARIS, April 26, 1865.

Sir:

The telegrams published in the evening papers inform me of the horrible crime of which Messrs. Lincoln and Seward have been the victims. I would not delay a moment longer to express to you our profound sympathy.

Yours very sincerely

PRINCE PIERRE NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO BIGELOW

PARIS, April 26, 1865.

Sir:

I believe I am fulfilling a duty, but a very painful one, in begging you to accept the expression of the profound affliction I feel in hearing of the death of President Lincoln. The sympathy with which that great man has honored my father's memory, increases my profound regrets. These will be shared by all noble hearts in all countries, and the glorious name of Lincoln, standing by the side of Washington, will be the everlasting honor of your great republic.

With great respect and cordial fraternity, I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

HENRI MOREAU TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, April 27, 1865.

My dear Bigelow:

You are at this moment depressed by the most painful emotions as a friend and as a citizen. An abominable crime has

deprived forever your country of the services of President Lincoln and withdrawn from the United States this chief, so conscientious, so penetrated with the sentiment of duty, so firm and so humane; this accomplished model of the Christian man and statesman. Everything leads us to fear that to this fatal news will be soon added that of the illustrious Mr. Seward, your personal friend. I wish to say to you, as your personal friend and by reason of my attachment to the cause which you defend so nobly, how much I associate myself with you in your loss and your regrets.

If Providence permits assassins to menace the most precious existences, it does not give them, happily, any power over their principles. President Lincoln has fallen a martyr of the noble cause of humanity, which will never perish, and all honest people of the South will associate themselves ardently with those of the North in detesting forever slavery, which has added these to other reasons for which it was already abhorred.

Accept, my dear Mr. Bigelow, with the expression of my profound regret, the assurance of my most affectionate sentiments.

A. COCHIN TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, 27th April, '65.

Dear Sir:

I unfortunately have not the time to go, as I would wish, to express to you the horror and the grief with which the tragic death of President Lincoln inspires me. He dies a martyr of justice. I pray you, give me some biographic details of Mr. Lincoln, and also of Mr. Johnson, little known and unfavorably viewed in Europe. I have an idea of a work which I wish to make immediately and for which these details are indispensable. If you have not under your hand any notice, send me a short note indicating the principal dates of the public life of these two men. I demand of the Bishop of Orleans the immediate publication of his letter. I propose to provoke many articles. We cannot profit too much by this misfortune to bring back public opinion strongly towards the cause of the

North, or at the same time render too much homage to the memory of this great man, whose name will be immortal.

What painful hours you must experience waiting for more detailed news! Receive more than ever the expression of my respectful sympathy.

Will you send me again some copies of the *Inaugural Address* of the 4th of March?

LABOULAYE TO BIGELOW

29th April, '65,
34 Rue Taitbout.

Dear Sir:

I desired earlier to write to you to express all the emotion with which I have been overwhelmed by this horrible news, which surprised me at a moment when I was already a sufferer. Nevertheless, and sick as I was, I delivered a lecture Thursday evening at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers on Franklin, and I embraced the occasion to speak of President Lincoln. Never in my life as a professor have my words awakened so much sympathy. Three times in succession the hall applauded with an enthusiasm which was not for the speaker, but for the noble victim of a cowardly assassin. You ought to see how great is the emotion in Paris—far greater than I supposed. Cochin, M. de Broglie, myself and some others are preparing an address which I am sure will be covered with the most important signatures in France. Would that we could do more about it! If I can be useful to you in any way, dispose of me, I beg you, and count me as one of yourselves. Do not give yourself the trouble to reply if you have nothing to ask of me, for you must be overwhelmed with letters to write. But the first time you write to Washington, I pray you to assure Mr. Seward of all the interest which I take in the situation and all the prayers I put up for its re-establishment. More than ever is Mr. Seward necessary to America and the entire world.

Adieu.

Your very devoted

ELISÉE RECLUS TO BIGELOW

Translation

CATANE, 30th April, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Lost as I was in the mountains of Sicily, it is only to-day that I learn of the decisive success of the Federals and the double assassination of Messrs. Lincoln and Seward. Those who have most labored for the triumph of American liberty have been struck; those also, like so many thousands of volunteers, who devoted themselves obscurely to the salvation of the country and have fallen without having the certitude of a definitive victory. Messrs. Lincoln and Seward at least will have been buried in triumph; in dying they will have had the immense satisfaction of knowing that their work was finished. But the nation's sorrow should be but the more profound, because it has lost in the person of the President a man whose patriotism, honesty, perseverance, calm energy in resolutions, have never been surpassed. This sorrow, believe me, I share, like you and like every man loving the right and liberty.

My heart to you.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

PARIS, le 1er mai 1865.

Cher Monsieur Bigelow:

Voici deux notes sur ce qui vient de se passer au Sénat et au Corps Législatif relativement à la communication dont je vous ai parlé l'autre jour.

Tout à vous

PARIS, 1er mai 1865.

S. E. M. Vuitry, Ministre Président le Conseil d'État, s'est rendu au Sénat, d'après les ordres de l'Empereur, et au début de la Séance, a donné lecture à l'Assemblée de la dépêche adressée par M. Drouyn de Lhuys au Chargé d'affaires de France à Washington, exprimant les sentiments de douloureuse émotion éprouvés par le Gouvernement Impérial à l'occasion de l'assassinat du Président de la République des États-Unis, et rendant hommage à la mémoire de Mr. Lincoln.

M. le Ministre Président du Conseil d'État a ajouté qu'il espérait que le Sénat s'associerait au sentiment dont l'Empereur l'avait chargé de lui apporter le témoignage.

M. le Président Troplong, Président du Sénat, a pris la parole, et répondant au nom de l'Assemblée à la communication du Commissaire du Gouvernement, a declaré qu'elle s'unirait toute entière à la pensée de l'Empereur, et qu'elle avait été frappée de la même douleur et de la même indignation en apprenant l'attentat commis sur la personne d'un citoyen porté au pouvoir suprême par le libre choix de son pays; que cette douleur ne pouvait que s'augmenter au souvenir des nobles sentimens de modération et de conciliation manifestés dans les dernières proclamations de M. le Président Lincoln.

M. le Président Troplong a alors proposé, et le Sénat a unanimement adopté le renvoi à M. le Ministre d'État de la partie du procès-verbal de la Séance mentionnant la communication du Gouvernement et l'adhésion du Sénat.

1er mai 1865.

Des l'ouverture de la Séance du Corps Législatif de ce jour, M. le Ministre d'État s'est levé au milieu d'un religieux silence et, après avoir annoncé qu'un crime odieux venait d'être commis et fait connaître tout l'indignation qu'il avait excitée en France, après avoir ajouté "que le premier châtiment du mal était de ne pouvoir ralentir la marche du bien," Son Excellence a donné lecture d'une dépêche que le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, sur l'ordre de l'Empereur, avait adressée, à la date du 28 avril à notre representant à Washington, a l'occasion de l'attentat.

Cette dépêche aux sentiments de laquelle le Corps Législatif s'est associé unanimement a été suivie d'une allocution de M. le Président Schneider, qui, en constatant la profonde horreur dont la Chambre avait été saisie lors de ce douloureux événement, a pris acte de la déclaration du Gouvernement et annoncé qu'un extrait du procès-verbal de la séance du jour, constatant le sentiment du Corps Législatif, serait adressé à S. Exe. M. le Ministre d'État.

BIGELOW TO THE REV. S. DESCOMBAZ, PRESIDENT OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE OF LYONS

PARIS, May 1, 1865.

Mr. President:

I have received your touching and sympathetic address to the President of the United States, and shall experience a sad satisfaction in transmitting it to him. The horrible crime which has called him to be a successor to the first martyr in the list of our Presidents will make him especially thankful for your sympathies and your prayers.

The deep emotion which our national mourning has everywhere excited, and particularly in France, proves that the assassin who has deprived us of the precious counsels of President Lincoln has given to him the immortality of the martyr, and forever placed before us this rare example of Christian courage and patriotism.

I beg you, sir, to accept for yourself and your reverend colleagues the assurances of my deep veneration.

Translated from the Moniteur of May 2, 1865

CORPS LÉGISLATIF, SITTING OF MONDAY, MAY 1

President Schneider. M. the Minister of State has the floor to transmit a communication from the government. [The assembly becomes very attentive and silent.]

His Excellency *M. Rouher,* Minister of State. Gentlemen: An odious crime has plunged in mourning a people composed of our allies and friends. The news of that odious act has produced throughout the civilized world a sentiment of indignation and horror. [Assent.]

Mr. Abraham Lincoln had displayed, in the afflicting struggle which convulses his country, that calm firmness and that invincible energy which belong to strong minds, and are a necessary condition for the accomplishment of great duties. [Repeated assent.] After the victory he had shown himself generous, moderate and conciliatory. [Hear, hear.] He was anxious to at once terminate the civil war, and

restore to America, by means of peace, her splendor and prosperity. [Hear, hear.]

The first chastisement that Providence inflicts on crime is to render it powerless to retard the march of good. [Repeated assent.] The deep emotion and elevated sympathies which are being displayed in Europe will be received by the American people as a consolation and an encouragement. The work of appeasement commenced by a great citizen will be completed by the national will. [Hear, hear.] The Emperor's government has sent to Washington the expression of a legitimate homage to the memory of an illustrious statesman, torn from the government of the States by an execrable assassination.

By his Majesty's order I have the honor to communicate to the legislative body the despatch addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to our representative at Washington.

[The reading of this was frequently interrupted by expressions of approbation and by applause.]

This despatch, gentlemen, does not call for any comment. The Emperor, the public bodies, and France, from one end to the other, are unanimous in their sentiments of reprobation for a detestable crime, in their homage to a great political character, victim of the most criminal passions, and in their ardent wishes for the reëstablishment of harmony and concord among the great and patriotic American nation. [Unanimous assent.]

President Schneider. Gentlemen, I wish to be the interpreter of your thoughts in publicly expressing the grief and indignation which we have all felt on learning the news of the bloody death of President Lincoln. That execrable crime has revolted all that is noble in the heart of France. Nowhere has more profound or more universal emotion been felt than in our country. We therefore heartily join in the sentiments and sympathies which have been manifested by the government. [Yes, yes.]

Having been called to the direction of public affairs at an ever-memorable crisis, Mr. Abraham Lincoln always proved himself fully equal to his difficult mission. After having shown his immovable firmness in the struggle, he seemed, by the wisdom of his language and of his views, destined to bring about a fruitful and durable reconciliation between the sons of America. [Hear, hear.] His last acts worthily crown the life of an honest man and a good citizen. Let us hope that his spirit and his sentiments may survive him, and inspire the American people with pacific and generous resolutions. [Approbation.]

France has deplored the bloody struggles which have afflicted humanity and civilization. She ardently desires the reëstablishment of peace in the midst of that great nation, her ally and her friend. [Hear, hear.]

May our prayers be heard, and may Providence put an end to these painful trials. [Unanimous approbation.]

The legislative body acknowledges the receipt of the communication just made to it by the government, and demands that an extract of the minutes of the sitting shall be officially addressed to the Minister of State. [General marks of assent.]

GEORGE P. MARSH TO BIGELOW

Dear Sir: TURIN, May 2, 1865.

. . . . . .

The news of the terrible crime which has clothed our country in mourning has been received by our Italian friends as Mr. Lincoln's warmest admirers would wish. But, as you know, *all* Italians and *all* foreign residents in Italy are not our friends. In one instance, at least, a high-born person, happily not an Italian, was unable to restrain the expression of exultation at the news, and in several others official hypocrisy has failed to conceal the disappointment and dismay which later telegrams, showing that this great crime will neither profit its perpetrators nor delay the triumph of liberty in America, have created. If we bear, as doubtless we shall, this hardest test of stability of our institutions, it will prove the severest blow that European despotism has ever received, and I trust we shall soon be in a position to show our bitterest enemies, the ecclesiastical and lay monarchies of England, that their conduct towards us has been not only a crime, but, what they would more regret, a blunder.

I am, Sir, very truly yours

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 3, 1865.

Sir:

His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs was kind enough, on Saturday last, the 29th of April, to read, and at the

same time to hand me, a copy of a communication which he had made, by order of the Emperor, to the French minister at Washington in reference to our recent national bereavement. His Excellency also informed me that it would be communicated to both of the legislative branches of the government on the Monday following. It would have been communicated on the day it was shown to me if the Corps Législatif had been in session.

As I had been notified, his Excellency M. Vuitry, Minister President of the Council of State, at the opening of the Senate yesterday, and by order of the Emperor, read the despatch to which I have referred, and added that he hoped the members of the Senate would unite in the sentiments which the Emperor had charged him to testify to them.

. . . . . .

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

Translated from the Moniteur of May 2, 1865

COMMUNICATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT

The President. M. the Minister President of the Council of State has the floor for the purpose of presenting a communication from the government.

His Excellency *M. Vuitry,* Minister President of the Council of State. Gentlemen of the Senate: In pursuance of the orders of the Emperor, I have the honor to communicate to the Senate the despatch addressed on the 28th of April last by M. the Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. the Chargé d'Affaires of France at Washington, on the occasion of the death of President Lincoln.

This despatch reads as follows:

PARIS, April 28, 1865.

Sir:

The news of the crime of which M. le President Lincoln has fallen a victim has caused a profound sentiment of indignation in the imperial government.

His Majesty immediately charged one of his aides-de-camp to call upon the minister of the United States, to request him to transmit the

expression of this sentiment to M. Johnson, now invested with the Presidency. I myself desired, by the despatch which I addressed you under date of yesterday, to acquaint you without delay of the painful emotion which we have experienced, and it becomes my duty to-day, in conformity with the views of the Emperor, to render a merited homage to the great citizen whose loss the United States now deplores.

Elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the republic by the suffrage of his country, M. Abraham Lincoln exhibited in the exercise of the power placed in his hands the most substantial qualities. In him firmness of character was allied with elevation of principle, and his vigorous soul never wavered before the redoubtable trials reserved for his government.

At the moment when an atrocious crime removed him from the mission which he fulfilled with a religious sentiment of duty, he was convinced that the triumph of his policy was definitively assured. His recent proclamations are stamped with the sentiments of moderation with which he was inspired in resolutely proceeding to the task of reorganizing the Union and consolidating peace. The supreme satisfaction of accomplishing this work has not been granted him; but in reviewing these testimonies of his exalted wisdom, as well as the examples of good sense, of courage, and of patriotism, which he has given, history will not hesitate to place him in the rank of citizens who have the most honored their country.

By order of the Emperor I transmit this despatch to M. the Minister of State, who is charged to communicate it to the Senate and the Corps Législatif. France will unanimously associate itself with the sentiments of his Majesty.

Receive, etc.,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

M. DE GEOFFROY,
Chargé d'Affaires of France at Washington.

I do not think, gentlemen of the Senate, that this communication needs any commentary. It explains itself. I trust the Senate will share the feelings of which the despatch which I have had the honor of reading contains the ready expression. In uniting together to brand with reprobation a horrible crime, the Emperor, the great bodies of the state, and France in its totality, will give to the republic of the United States a fresh testimony of their sincere sympathy. [Loud approbation.]

The President. Gentlemen, in acknowledging the communication just made by M. the Minister, I beg the Senate will permit me to express in its name a sentiment which, in its unanimity and energy, is equally felt by all. The Senate felt a deep emotion at the news of the crime committed against the illustrious head of an allied

nation. Mr. Lincoln, placed, since 1861, at the head of the American nation, had passed through the most afflicting trials that could befall a government founded on liberty. It was at the moment when victory presented itself, not as a signal of conquest, but as the means of reconciliation, that a crime still obscure in its causes destroyed the existence of that citizen placed so high by the choice of his countrymen. Mr. Lincoln fell at the moment when he thought he was on the point of arriving at the term of the misfortunes by which his country was afflicted, and when he indulged in the hope of seeing it soon reconstituted and flourishing. The Senate, which has always deplored the civil war, detests still more that implacable hatred which is its fruit, and which disgraces politics by assassination. There can, therefore, be but one voice in this body, to join in the ideas expressed by order of the Emperor, in the name of a generous policy, and of humanity. [Approbation.]

I propose to the Senate to decree that a copy of the minutes of the present sitting be officially transmitted to the Minister of State. [Long and prolonged approbation.]

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 4, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, to your Excellency, a printed copy of three proclamations issued by the President of the United States on the 11th ultimo: one relating to the closing of certain ports of entry; another supplementary thereto, and relating to the port of Key West, Florida; and a third, relating to reciprocal hospitality to the vessels of foreign navies in the ports of the United States, and to vessels of the navy of the United States in foreign ports. Your Excellency will perceive, by these proclamations, that it is believed that the time has arrived when the United States, whatever claim or pretence may have existed heretofore for denying them, are now entitled to claim the same friendly rights and hospitalities which they are willing to concede to the marine of all other nations.

I have the honor to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration, and remain your very humble and very obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 4, 1865.

Sir:

I enclose copies of two letters received from Col. H. L. Scott,[1] formerly of the United States Army; the first addressed to myself, and the second addressed to the Adjutant-General of the United States at Washington City. I also enclose the original of the latter letter, which I commit to the State Department to be forwarded to its address.

I propose to send Col. Scott his passport as requested, upon his signing the declaration required at this legation of all applicants for the protection of the United States government, a copy of which is enclosed.

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 5, 1865.

Sir:

Some weeks ago, at the close of a long conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs in reference to some of the influences operating to alienate our two governments, and more especially to the operations of the Confederates at Bordeaux, Nantes, and Calais, and after satisfying him, as I think, that the government of the United States was disposed to do anything consistent with the national dignity to cultivate the most friendly relations with France, his Excellency made allusion to the interests of France in Mexico as the only apparent source of a serious misunderstanding. I stated in a general way that I felt able to assure him that nothing whatever was to be apprehended from us in that quarter; that we had no dis-

[1] Son of General Winfield S. Scott, who, as a born Virginian, declined to serve in the army arrayed against his native State.

position to meddle with the experiment which Europe was now making in Mexico, and that in order to disabuse his Excellency's mind of all illusions upon the subject, I would avail myself of an early opportunity to read to him some extracts from your recent dispatches and explain to him at the same time the position which I understood our government to occupy upon this question. He seemed much pleased by this proposal, and gave me to understand that it would be gratifying to the Emperor as well as to himself to hear what I had to say upon that subject. He then went on to speak of the attitude of France in reference to the concession of belligerent rights to the American insurgents, which he connected in his course of thought with her position *vis-à-vis* the United States in Mexico, and said that he did not like neutral positions himself under any circumstances; that the declaration conceding belligerent rights was not issued by him; he allowed me to infer that if he had been in office that declaration would probably not have issued; that France was now involved in engagements with Mexico which must be respected; that in adjusting differences among nations there was always a balancing of interests, a ponderation as he termed it; that the Emperor was one of those men who when he received any favor always returned it doubled; and, finally, that he thought from the disposition which appeared to exist on both sides that good might result from our conversation. I may here add that his manner, habitually kind to me, was unusually cordial, frank and friendly.

I could not mistake the import of these remarks, especially of the closing ones, and promised to wait upon his Excellency promptly. Circumstances did not favor our meeting again until Saturday last, the 29th of April. The first subject of our conversation was the great calamity or calamities which have plunged the world in grief and placed our late beloved President among the martyrs. He spoke of the profound emotion which the event had produced in France; he desired me to testify his sincere affliction, and then read the dispatch which he had addressed to his Chargé d'Affaires at Washington and which he proposed to communicate on the following Monday to the Corps Législatif. That dispatch and an official account of its reception by the Corps Législatif were the subjects of my dispatch No. 87.

After some further conversation upon this absorbing topic, I alluded to some of the circumstances which had hitherto prevented my redeeming the promise I had made at our last interview, and said that if he was sufficiently at leisure I would then say what I had proposed to say to his Excellency upon the subject of Mexico. I then went on to say that the manner and terms in which his Excellency spoke at our last interview of the present and future relations of France with the United States and Mexico had led me to think that a good purpose might be served by reading some of your recent dispatches to me on the subject of those relations, though they were designed mainly for my personal guidance. I then read to him your dispatch No. 71 and pertinent parts of Nos. 67 and 94. After I had finished reading, I went on to explain what I understood to be the attitude which my country occupied towards the intervening powers in Mexico, substantially as follows:

In the first place, I said, our people have no desire to annex Mexico to the United States; if any such desire existed we should have kept the country when we had possession of it. When our foreign policy had to be shaped with reference to the existence of slavery in our borders, we may have laid ourselves open to the suspicion of coveting territory favorable to the employ of slave labor. It was slavery that plunged us into a war with Mexico in 1846, but the difficulty which the government experienced in obtaining from Congress the means of keeping on foot the very inconsiderable army employed in that conquest, and the alacrity with which it accepted the terms upon which our army was withdrawn, showed clearly that the heart of the nation did not respond to the action of the government. Now slavery is no longer a controlling nor even an influential power in our government, and with it will perish every interest in the enlargement of our national domain by military force. Besides, were this otherwise, what should we do with Mexico if she were ours? Her commerce was never of any considerable value to us; her people belong to a different race for the most part, they speak a different language, profess a different religion, and have been reared under social and political institutions having very little resemblance to those which prevail in the United States. If Mexico were ours we should have the expense and responsibility which now weighs upon the government of France, and we should be as

far as France appears to be from realizing any advantage from the possession. We could not extend our laws and constitution to her people with any hope of meeting their political necessities, and as a natural consequence we should be obliged to place them under an exceptional form of government which would be prejudicial to ourselves and tend rather to alienate than unite the two people in bonds of friendship.

It was true that we, as Republicans and Americans, did not look with favor upon the efforts of European States to propagate their power and political systems among our neighbors. We do not think them adapted to the new and sparsely settled countries of our continent, and that when imposed they have a tendency to obstruct their prosperity, in which we have a more or less direct interest, and also to render our relations with such communities less sympathetic and harmonious. For these reasons no less than for what we regarded as an inopportune moment selected for the experiment now making by the Emperor, we have not looked with the favor which we like to feel for the important enterprises of His Majesty, upon this attempt, by force, to rear an hereditary monarchy upon the ruins of a neighboring republic. But while we could not in any way encourage this effort, I did not think it was the wish of any considerable portion of the American people, and certainly not of the government, to offer to it other than a purely passive resistance. We as a nation are willing that the experiment of transplanting the prevailing system of European government to Mexico, now that it has been begun under such imposing auspices, should be fairly tested. My country people, I said, do not think it will succeed, and I confessed that I fully shared their impressions. At the same time I added that I esteemed it a matter for congratulation that the experiment was to be made under circumstances most favorable to a final settlement of the question. It was the interest of all the world that this should be an *experimentum crucis*, and for that end it was an important condition that we should not lend to it any encouragement, even if there were any disposition on the part of our people to do so. I went on to say that we had no particular reason to be proud of the fruit borne by popular forms of government in Spanish America, and if European forms could yield more happy results, no nations were more interested in the application of them than their nearest neighbors. While

therefore we cannot encourage the application to a neighboring people of institutions which we ourselves deliberately rejected as unsuited to our own conditions, we shall continue to maintain the policy of non-intervention announced to the Emperor's government when we were invited to join in the expedition to Mexico, and we shall continue to respect our obligations of neutrality with that same fidelity which, up to this time, no government has ever had occasion to question.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys professed to be much gratified by the passages which I had read from your dispatches and by my verbal explanations. He said that was all they could ask of us; that if, contrary to their expectations, the government which France was assisting to establish in Mexico did not succeed, it was important that the experiment should be a fair and conclusive one. He then explained at some length the circumstances under which France became a party to it; he said the Emperor never contemplated any hostile or unfriendly designs upon the United States, nor did he think, if successful, it need modify the friendly relation of the United States either with France or with Mexico. Though His Excellency did not say so in terms, I do not think I did either his manner or language any violence when I inferred from them both that he regarded the new government in Mexico as a temporary one and that any opportunity that offered of retiring from that country with honor and dignity would be promptly taken advantage of by the Emperor of France. I will add further my own conviction that whether that opportunity shall arrive sooner or later will depend more upon the patience with which our government and people await the result of his experiment than upon anything else now apparent in the political horizon.

I am, sir, etc.

E. JOY MORRIS TO BIGELOW

U. S. Legation, Constantinople,
May 8, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Here, as everywhere else, the assassination of Pres. Lincoln has produced a universal sensation of horror and indignation.

The Turkish Govt. sent me a very strong letter of condolence; the Armenians, Greeks, Italians and all the other principal nationalities have, in some form or other, manifested to me their regrets. The Greeks, several hundred in number, waited on me, wearing emblems of mourning, and bearing with them a portrait of the President crowned with laurel and adorned with the Greek and Armenian flags. This sad event has moved the *masses* most intensely. They feel they have lost a friend and humanity a benefactor. I most earnestly hope the life of Mr. Seward may be preserved, but I fear his injuries are so great as to forbid us the hope of his complete restoration to health for a long period of time.

I rejoiced to see a gentleman of your practical efficiency called to the mission at Paris. It is an honor most appropriately bestowed and has met with universal approbation.

The work you published on the U. S. in 1863 was a very useful one. If you ever publish another edition, pray add to it a good map. It will enhance its value much.

In a dispatch of mine, Oct. 21, 1863, I wrote of it to Mr. Seward in the following terms:

"As the exhibition of our resources, population, and actual condition is of importance in demonstrating the wealth of the country and power of the Govt. and in giving people ideas of our capacity for future development and growth, I recently presented to the Grand Vizier—Minister of Foreign Affairs—and Minister of Commerce (Sarfet Pasha, now Min. to Paris) a French edition of Mr. Bigelow's admirable work on the U. S. of America. I know of no work which presents such a condensed yet such a satisfactory account of the agricultural and mineral resources of the U. S., of our progress in Arts and Arms, and of our power as a nation. It is the more influential from being based on official statistics. The character of the conflict between free and slave labor in a brief space sets forth in its true lights the nature of the struggle in the U. S. These functionaries assured me that the present was a very acceptable one, as the subject was to them exceedingly interesting, and one about which it was difficult to obtain reliable information. I venture to suggest that the diffusion of this work at Govt. expense among leading public men at the various Continental Courts would have a happy effect."

Besides the above-named persons I presented the work to

several other persons of political significance here, diplomatists, journalists, etc., having imported from Paris some ten copies. I hope the success of the work was commensurate with its merits and that it may tempt you to a new *edition with a map.*

I received your answer to my telegram and am much obliged for the same. To so remote a mission as this, our Govt. ought to send telegrams of important events.

With Mrs. M.'s and my own regards to Mrs. Bigelow and my cordial wishes for the fullest success of your mission, I am,

Yours truly

FROM THE LEGATION OF H. I. M. THE SHAH OF PERSIA, AT PARIS, TO THE UNITED STATES MINISTER

Translation

Paris, May 9, 1865.

I have just received a telegram from Teheran, expressive of the horror felt by the government of his imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia at the news of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln.

I am requested by him to express to you his great regrets on this occasion, and to ask you to transmit them to your new President.

Accept the assurance of my very high consideration,

Suleyman Khan,
Persian Chargé d'Affaires.

His Excellency Mr. Bigelow,
United States Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Legation of the United States,
Paris, May 10, 1865.

Sir:

At my suggestion a meeting was held at this legation on Tuesday, the 2d instant, which appointed a committee of nine

to prepare an address that should express the feelings inspired among them by the horrible crimes perpetrated at the seat of government on the night of the 14th of April.

On Tuesday, the 9th instant, the committee, at the legation and in the presence of a large concourse of our country people, presented me the address, which they had prepared in compliance with their instructions, and which was signed by several hundred Americans. That address, with the signatures attached thereto, and my reply, marked enclosures Nos. 1 and 2, are herewith transmitted. You will find, also, that the address and reply have been deemed worthy of the hospitality of the *Moniteur* of this morning, a grace which will probably insure their general circulation throughout France.

It would have been more satisfactory to our colony here, because more in accordance with our national usages, to have held a public meeting, in the exercises of which there could have been a more general participation; but, in view of the profound excitement produced throughout France by the events which would constitute the pretext for holding such a meeting, I did not think proper to give to such a demonstration any encouragement. A funeral service, conducted by the respective pastors, was held in both the American chapels here on different days, and both had an overflowing attendance.

The expressions of sympathy which reach me daily from every quarter are to me, as an American, of the most gratifying character. The press of the metropolis shows sufficiently how overwhelming is the public sentiment. Among innumerable written testimonials of sympathy, I have received some from public bodies and from groups of people, which I propose to send you as soon as I have enough copying force liberated to prepare them.

I am, sir, etc.

THE ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE

To his Excellency JOHN BIGELOW, Envoy Extraordinary.

Sir:

We have learned with the most profound emotions that our beloved late Chief Magistrate is no more; that at the

height of his fame and usefulness he has been stricken down by an assassin's hand. Our joy over the nation's deliverance from the horrors of civil war is turned into mourning, by an event shocking to humanity, and lamented by every friend of liberty and law.

Separated as we are, temporarily, from our native land, and standing amid the hospitable altars of a people associated with our most cherished traditions, our hearts impel us to give some expression, through you, of our sorrow and our sympathy.

We beg to assure you that we share the grief that fills the hearts of our countrymen at home, and mourn with them the loss of the illustrious citizen, the wise magistrate, the just, pure, and good man.

Yet, while we mourn this incalculable loss, we would gratefully remember that Providence which spared him to his country until he had successfully guided us so near the end of the strife.

His firmness, his justice, ever tempered with mercy, his faith in the dignity and rights of man, and his absorbing patriotism, were the inspirations of his official life, and, under God, have afforded us the happy vision of approaching peace and a restored Union.

Four years ago he was wholly unknown to the world at large, and, except in his own State, had yet to win the confidence of his fellow-citizens. To-day, after an ordeal as severe as ever tested ability and character, he is universally accepted as one of the few born to shape the best destinies of States, and to make the most powerful impress for good upon the fortunes of the human race.

If it was not reserved for him to create a nation, he was called most conspicuously to aid in preserving one against the most formidable armed conspiracy ever aimed at the life of a State.

If, in the completeness of our institutions, it was not his office to add to the safeguards of liberty for his own race, it will be his undying glory to have lifted four millions of a feeble and long unbefriended people from bondage to the dignity of personal freedom.

The rights of humanity at last are vindicated, and our country is relieved of its great reproach.

Already the world is claiming for itself this last martyr to

the cause of freedom, and Abraham Lincoln has taken his place among the moral constellations which shall impart light and life to all coming generations.

We would here gratefully remember the words of sympathy for our country, and of respect for the fallen, uttered with united voice by the rulers and people of Europe. We believe this event, which all humanity mourns, will strengthen the tie of friendship which should ever unite the brotherhood of States.

We would not in this address say more of the assassin than express our abhorrence of his dreadful crime, but we lovingly remember that the last utterances of him we mourn were words of clemency toward the defeated enemies of his country: "With charity to all, and malice for none," he was superior to revenge. "Peace and union!" These secured, there was little place in his heart for the severities of justice.

It was this gentleness, united to an integrity and unselfishness of character never surpassed, that won the hearts of his countrymen. We mourn not only the Magistrate we revered, but the friend we loved.

It is not for us to scrutinize the dealings of a just God; we bow before His dispensations when least intelligible to human wisdom. But in sealing with his blood the work to which he was called, Mr. Lincoln has, we believe, been the means of placing upon more imperishable foundations the unity, the glory, and the beneficent power of our beloved country. And if there be inspiration in high example, we know that his wise and upright policy in all our domestic and foreign relations will be an additional guarantee for peace, charity, and justice, throughout the civilized world.

We beg to assure you, and through you Mrs. Lincoln and her family, of our deep sympathy in this their hour of affliction. We know how inadequate is all human consolation, but it is grateful to us to assure the bereaved that we mourn with them their irreparable loss.

To the honored Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, whose death was also purposed, and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Frederick W. Seward, and their families, we wish also to express our sympathies, in view of their great perils and sufferings.

We deem it fitting to express to our distinguished fellow-

citizen who succeeds to the Chief Magistracy our sense of the trying circumstances under which he is called to his new trust. We find in the record of his long and useful public career the basis of the most perfect confidence in his ability, his justice, and his patriotism.

We beg you, sir, to assure our fellow-countrymen, and the more immediate sufferers by the terrible tragedy, and the President, of these our most heartfelt sentiments.

We have the honor, sir, to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

N. M. Beckwith,
James O. Putnam,
James Phalen,
William C. Emmet,
Thomas W. Evans, M.D.,
Robert M. Mason,
Richard M. Hoe,
Johnston Livingston, *Committee.*
And some two hundred others.

Paris, May 4, 1865.

REPLY OF MR. BIGELOW

Gentlemen:

I respect and share the emotions which have inspired this address. I shall have a melancholy satisfaction in communicating it to those whose stricken hearts have the first claim to its consolations.

The crime which has provoked this impressive demonstration from the loyal Americans in Paris is one which unites all the elements of human depravity in their largest proportions. Its victims are among those whose loss at the present moment the whole civilized world would most unanimously deplore. Upon us, his compatriots, who knew best what a rare collection of public and private virtues went down into the grave with Abraham Lincoln, this blow has fallen with peculiar severity, and I thank you for the faithful eloquence with which you have interpreted our common sorrow.

But no crime was ever committed that was not an involuntary homage to virtue. The war between the principles of

good and evil is always waging; and if the Lamb that took away the sins of the world had to bear his testimony upon the cross, why should he who proclaimed deliverance to a race of bondmen be safe from the treacherous hand of the assassin? How more appropriately could our great national reproach ultimate itself? Was it more than historic justice to mark the grave of chattel slavery in the United States by a crime that was never perpetrated, whatever the pretence, except in the interests of slavery?

Those who, like myself, are accustomed to search for the hand of God in the phenomena of human life, cannot but feel, as, after much reflection, I am led to feel, that our people were never nearer to Him than at the dreadful moment when we seemed, humanly speaking, most deserted. What revelations that crime has made; what lessons it has taught, and will teach; what prejudices it has corrected; what hostilities it has suspended; what sympathies it has awakened! They are in every one's mind; they are on every one's tongue. Even here in a foreign land, and where what we most cherish in our political institutions may be supposed to be but imperfectly comprehended, what American has not been surprised and comforted by the spontaneous and universal demonstrations of sympathy which our national bereavement has elicited from all parties, and from every class, from the humblest and from the most exalted? Such a tribute was never paid to our country before; such homage was never paid to any other American. And why to Mr. Lincoln? Because his death, and the time and manner of it, seem to have rendered his whole public career luminous, and to make it clear to the most distant observers that our late President, inspired by a love which made all men his brothers, had been building wiser than they knew; that he had been fighting the fight of humanity, of justice, and of civilization; and, finally, that he had been summoned hence to receive a crown of triumph more enduring than any that could be prepared for him here.

It is not too much to say that during the long four years of our bloody struggle with this rebellion the world made less progress in comprehending its baleful origin and purposes, and the common interest of humanity in resisting it, than has been made during the brief interval which has elapsed since this awful tragedy. By the hand of an assassin that simple-

hearted and single-minded patriot has been transfigured, and has taken his place in history as the impersonation of a cause which henceforth it will be blasphemy to assail.

I was never so proud of being an American as when I learned with what comparative unanimity my countrymen put the seal of their approbation upon all the sacrifices he had invited them to make by reëlecting him to the Presidency. Nor was I ever more proud of being a man than since I have learned by his death how, during all his troubled administration, his public and private virtues have been secretly but steadily graving themselves upon the hearts of mankind. My heart goes out more than ever to our brothers in foreign lands who have shown such readiness to lessen the burden of our great affliction by sharing it with us.

I desire to join with all my heart in your expressions of sympathy for those whose grief is yet too poignant to be assuaged by such considerations as these. May God sustain them, and in His own good time reveal to them the silver lining which always lies concealed in the folds of the darkest clouds.

And, while weeping with those that weep, you do well to rejoice with those who rejoice that God in His mercy shortened the arm that was lifted against our venerable and illustrious Secretary of State and his noble son. Had they too been swept into a martyr's grave, then, indeed, had assassination triumphed. But, thanks be to God, they still live, and in them lives on our lamented President. In their trials, in their disappointments, in their plans, in their hopes, in their triumphs, the late President and Mr. Seward were one. In Mr. Seward's escape the murderer of the President is deprived of every advantage that could possibly have tempered the remorse by which, for the remaining hours of his wretched life, he must have been tormented. Swift justice has already overtaken him, and he is now where we have no occasion to follow him, either with our wrath or with our commiseration.

I had occasion, some three years ago, to warn Mr. Seward of plots maturing then against the lives of leading loyal statesmen in different cities of our republic, intelligence of which had reached me here. His reply has acquired, from recent events, such a painful interest that I feel justified by the present occasion in reading it to you:

"Department of State,
"Washington, July 15, 1862.

. . . . . .

"There is no doubt that from a period anterior to the breaking out of the insurrection, plots and conspiracies for purposes of assassination have been frequently formed and organized. And it is not unlikely that such an one as has been reported to you is now in agitation among the insurgents. If it be so, it need furnish no ground for anxiety. Assassination is not an American practice or habit, and one so vicious and so desperate cannot be engrafted into our political system.

"This conviction of mine has steadily gained strength since the Civil War began. Every day's experience confirms it. The President, during the heated season, occupies a country house near the Soldiers' Home, two or three miles from the city. He goes to and from that place on horseback, night and morning, unguarded. I go there unattended at all hours, by daylight and moonlight, by starlight and without any light. . . ."

You will remark in these lines that same hopeful, confiding nature that thinketh no evil; that inextinguishable reliance on the good sense and manly instincts of his country people, which has sustained him, and through him, in a great degree, the nation during four long years of trial which required, if any ever did, statesmen that walked by faith, and not by sight.

Among the many marvellous results of this great tragedy there is still one to which, I am sure, you will pardon an allusion.

The fatal ball that raised Abraham Lincoln to the glory of a martyr, discharged a debt of gratitude to Andrew Johnson, for which nothing short of the highest national honors would suffice. Among the statesmen now living it would be difficult to name one who, according to his opportunity, has placed his country under greater obligations than the constitutional successor of President Lincoln. With some expe-

rience of almost every condition of social life, he has passed through every grade of public distinction in the United States, from the lowest to the very highest, and he never quitted any public trust except for one of greater honor and responsibility. That could never be said of an ordinary man. Mr. Johnson has now entered upon new and unprecedented trials. I share fully your confidence in his ability to meet them all. It should be a matter of congratulation with us, in this hour of national affliction, that the mantle of our lamented President should have fallen upon the ample shoulders of a statesman so experienced, so upright, and so meritorious as Andrew Johnson.

The assassination of our President was the theme of every public print in the Second Empire. For the first time in its history, the voice of the public press of France was unanimous. It was unanimous in its expressions of horror for the crime; unanimous in its execration of the criminal; practically unanimous in its promises of a martyr's crown of glory for the illustrious victim. I am tempted, however, to give here a single extract from an article by the accomplished John Lemoine, simply because it touched a religious note rarely invoked for any cause by the public press of France in those days of Sardanapolian heathenism, except by the clergy.

Translated from the Journal des Débats, May 8, 1865

The grief and horror caused by the murder of Lincoln cannot but be more deeply felt when we think of the touching and religious language in which, a month before his death, this good man thanked his fellow-citizens for his reëlection. Lincoln felt nothing of the intoxication of triumph; victory inspired him with no other feeling than the satisfaction arising from the consciousness of duty having been performed and justice satisfied. On taking possession for the second time of the supreme magistracy of the republic, he said: "Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may

seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully.

"The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

These were nearly the last words—the *novissima verba*—of Abraham Lincoln, and man may meet his God with calmness when a violent death snatches him from this world with sentiments like these.

JOHN LEMOINE.

BISHOP H. B. WHIPPLE TO BIGELOW

PARIS, May 10, 1865.

My dear Sir:

I cannot resist the promptings of my own heart to tell you with what pleasure I read your address of yesterday. It was chaste, beautiful, and interpreted the language of our sorrow as none of us could do for himself—you did us all credit, and I am sure these expressions of sympathy will be

gratefully received by our friends and Government at home. Pardon this note. I had to tell you.

Yours faithfully

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 11, 1865.

Sir:

The news of Johnston's capitulation reached us yesterday. I felt that the propitious moment for which I had been waiting had arrived. I immediately prepared the communication of which enclosure No. 1 is a copy, and this afternoon placed it myself in the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In delivering it to him, I said that I had resumed in that communication the substance of my part in several conversations with his Excellency about our affairs, which recent news rendered it proper that I should submit to him in a more formal manner.

His Excellency read the paper carefully through, and then proceeded to say that there were two distinct subjects presented in my communication—one relating to the past, and the second to the present and the future. As to the past, he said he did not see how France could have acted towards the United States otherwise than as she did on the breaking out of our rebellion; that it was impossible to treat as a mere local disorder the contest now drawing to a close in America, in which half the territory of the Union was in a state of rebellion—a contest which had lasted four years, which had arrayed large armies against each other, and which had presented every known condition of serious war. But while he was not prepared to condemn the past course of his government, he said he was prepared to admit that a very different question was presented from that which they had hitherto had occasion to consider; that the war seemed to be practically at an end; that there was no longer any considerable force in the field against the federal government, nor any apparent organization, such as are the usual conditions of war.

Under these circumstances, he said he would deem it his duty to bring the subject of my communication to the attention of the Empress Regent and of the council without delay, and, after taking their directions, he would communicate with me more formally on the subject. He went on to say that he should lose no time in getting the future policy of the government on this question defined, adding with a smile, "I think the result will be satisfactory to you."

I then presented the military situation of the Confederates a little in detail to show that Davis has no longer any army under his orders, and explained that the belligerent rights accorded to the Confederates could no longer serve any purpose except to give a sort of license for the depredations of two or three of their vessels, which were now, if never before, pirates by definition.

His Excellency gave me new assurances of his disposition to have a prompt decision upon the subject, and of his confidence that that decision would be satisfactory to me.

I think I am justified by the language and manner of M. Drouyn de Lhuys in expressing to you the belief that a withdrawal of all countenance of the Confederates by France may be expected at an early day.

I am, sir, etc.

BIGELOW TO DROUYN DE LHUYS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 10, 1865.

Sir:

Your Excellency need not be reminded that during the progress of the civil strife which has afflicted my country for some four years past, the declaration of the imperial government of September, 1861, which conceded belligerent rights to the insurgents, has proved a source of serious political inconvenience and of no little popular irritation. Without discussing the original necessity or propriety of that step, in regard to which, as your Excellency is aware, my government

has never entertained but one opinion, I esteem it my duty to submit to your Excellency whether that declaration has not ceased to serve any of the useful ends for which it may have been designed; whether the time has not come when it is unfriendly, on the part of France, to deny to the navy of the United States that hospitality which the French navy has always received in the ports of the United States, and whether the insurgents have not forfeited whatever right they ever pretended to have to the privileges of belligerents accorded them by the imperial government.

Your Excellency must be already aware that the insurrectionary district of the United States has not a single port left open to the sea; it has no fixed seat for its pretended government; no coherent civil administration; no army that is not rapidly dissolving into fragments in consequence of repeated defeats. The only ships that assume to carry its flag were built in foreign lands; and from the day their keels were laid have never ventured to approach within hundreds of miles of the scene of the insurrection, while they have derived all their ability to rob and plunder our innocent commerce from the concession to them of belligerent privileges by powers which have repeatedly assured my government of their disposition to be neutral in the strife.

To show your Excellency how difficult it must be to maintain friendly relations, however desirable, with powers which countenance this state of things, I invite your Excellency's attention to a single aspect of this grievance which is officially authenticated.

Of the American merchant ships built and owned in the United States in 1858, 33, representing 12,684 tons capacity, were transferred to a British registry. The number of the same class similarly transferred in 1859 was 49, and their tonnage 21,308. The number in 1860 was 41, and their tonnage 13,683. In 1861 the number rose to 126, and the tonnage to 71,673. In 1862 the number reached 135, and their tonnage 64,578. In 1863 the number was no less than 348, and their tonnage 252,379. In 1864 the number fell to 106, and the tonnage to 92,052.

It thus appears that from the beginning of our Civil War until the first of January last the number of our merchant ships which assumed a British registry was 715, or there-

abouts. I do not know what number of our merchant ships sought safety by acquiring other registry than that of Great Britain, and I have no occasion to indulge in conjectures upon the subject. The statement I have made is sufficient to illustrate the great disturbance and derangement of our commerce resulting necessarily and legitimately, not from our domestic strife, but from the intervention in it of piratical cruisers built in British ports and issuing from them to devastate our trade on the high seas, in violation of municipal laws, treaties, and the law of nations.

The government of France has concurred with that of Great Britain in attributing a belligerent character to these piratical vessels, whence they have derived, in a great degree, their capacity for mischief, and in so doing she has given countenance to a mode of warfare unexampled in modern times for its wanton destructiveness, and appalling, when contemplated as a precedent consecrated by such authorities for the future.

I beg now to ask your Excellency whether France wishes to persist in recognizing the scattered fragments of the insurrectionary organization, now fleeing before our armies, as belligerents, or the two or three ships now preying upon our commerce, constructed and equipped in neutral territory, sailing under no national flag, and therefore pirates by the law of nations, as entitled to the same rights and hospitalities in the ports of this empire as vessels of war bearing the flag of the United States?

I would ask your Excellency whether any possible advantage can result from this toleration of our enemies that will compensate for the irritation which must inevitably result from the continuance of a policy so prejudicial to our national interests, so irritating to our national pride, and so unfavorable to the culture of those friendly relations which my country people have been educated to value very highly. If not, permit me to assure your Excellency of my conviction that a more auspicious moment is not likely to occur than the present for France to withdraw every recognition, however qualified or conditional, which she may have made to any government or authority on the territory of the United States, save that which I have the honor to represent near his imperial Majesty. Permit me, also, to express the hope that your Excellency will

lend your powerful support to such a policy, involving, as it does, results about which neither of our countries can afford to be indifferent.

I have the honor to renew to your Excellency assurances of the very high consideration with which I am your very obedient and very humble servant

E. D. MORGAN TO BIGELOW

New York, May 13, 1865.

Dear Mr. Bigelow:

I have ten minutes, Mr. Terry says, in which to write for the mail to-day.

President Johnson is doing well. The Country have confidence in his judgment and ability; no one fears, even, that there will be any return of occurrences on 4th March last. He will go on with his Cabinet as now constituted for a few months.

It is not a proper time to change; eventually he will reconstruct his Cabinet.

Gov. Seward will get well beyond all question. Mr. Frederick W. Seward will scarcely survive the dreadful wounds he received. I have not at any time expected he would get well.[1]

Faithfully yours

[P.S.] Mr. King will go into the Cabinet, in my opinion. The President can't do better if he makes a change.

[1] I have pleasure in noting here that after an interval of forty-four years Mr. Frederick Seward is still in the enjoyment of good health and pursuing a life of usefulness (September, 1909).

HUNTER, ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, 15th May, 1865.

Dear Sir:

Since my last note to you was closed, the missing numbers of the *Gazette Musicale* have reached us, for which please accept my thanks.

All your dispatches and private letters have been received. But it is physically impracticable for me to reply to them in detail.

The Secretary is improving, and his ailments of a moral character are probably more serious than the physical ones. Chief among the former, of course, is the condition of his son, who, though better, is by no means out of danger. His danger results from the wounding of the extremity of an artery beneath the skull. He has had several hemorrhages from this, all more or less dangerous, and although the last, which took place several days ago, bled less copiously than the others, this was probably because the doctor arrived soon enough to stop it with his finger before it went further. This is the only method practicable for the purpose, under the circumstances. The circulation of course presses upon the wounded point, and the difficulty is to have this sufficiently healed to bear the pressure.

The Secretary's chief physical ailment is his broken jaw. It is supposed that several weeks must elapse before the parts will be united enough to warrant his attention to business, or to enable him to take solid food.

Very truly yours

BIGELOW TO WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 16, 1865.

Dear Mr. Bryant:

You have given a description of precisely the man I would have chosen for my Secretary, if the choice had been left with

me, but I understand that the place of 1st Secretary has been filled or rather is to be filled by Mr. Hay, late private Secy. of Pres. Lincoln, & that of 2nd Secy. by Mr. G. W. Pomeroy. I have heard nothing from either of these gentlemen since their appointment, but I presume they will be here one of these days. Had no appointments been made I should certainly invoke your assistance in securing the nomination of Mr. Ordronnaux to one of the vacancies. You can judge better than I whether the death of Mr. Lincoln would be likely to change the plans of Mr. Hay in reference to his proposed residence in Paris. I seem to have no luck in my efforts to fly from work. I quitted the *E. Post* to find leisure; accepted a Consulate, always reputed a sinecure, where for about two years at least I first learned what hard work was. I resigned that, when I was suddenly called to the charge of this Legation, where most of the time I have been without a single Secretary and with more work on my hands, I venture to say, than was ever imposed upon any Minister here before in any equal space of time. I suppose I am not fit to be trusted with leisure and am thus, by what seems a run of ill luck, providentially kept out of mischief.

The circumstances under which I received my present position were quite flattering, but the honor would have given me much more pleasure some years ago than any political distinction can confer now. Besides, I have lived here already longer than is agreeable to me. I long for the society of my country people. I have become a convert to the theory of the essential distinction of races. I do not belong to the Latin race and never can feel that we started from the same point or are travelling in the same direction. I suppose I must now reconcile myself, however, to a farther absence of two or three years from home, unless I disgrace myself and am relieved by Mr. Johnson. My wife, who is not under the same penalty, goes home next Saturday in the *Persia* for six or eight weeks. She will see you and your family, and will tell you many things that are not worth writing perhaps.

The effect produced in Europe, as you will see from the journals, by the news of Mr. Lincoln's death has been quite unprecedented. Familiar as I supposed I was with the currents of public opinion here towards the U. S., I had no idea of the interest with which the progress of our war has been

watched by the masses. I am quite sure the death of no other foreign sovereign or subject, by whatever means, would have produced so much emotion. I receive every day letters of sympathy numerously signed from all parts of France and from obscure people as well as from the most conspicuous. Nearly a dozen Masonic lodges have already sent me addresses, and similar ones will probably continue to arrive every day for weeks to come. The tone of the press, as you will remark, has also changed. The government cannot resist the popular feeling and is obliged to join in the general reaction. The universal reflection in all circles now is that we have accomplished with our democratic government results that could never have been accomplished with any other. The Republicans here are taking advantage of this to keep the subject before the people as much as possible. The death of Lincoln, I think, is destined to work a radical change in the Constitution of France. It is impossible for the govt., if disposed, to resist the lesson in political science taught by the United States during the past four years. You can hardly imagine what a sensation was produced by the news brought by the last steamer, that Stanton had taken steps to reduce the Army some 400,000 men. It was to Europeans the most incomprehensible step imaginable. It showed how falsely we had been accused of intending to profit by the peace to adopt an aggressive foreign policy; it showed how absurdly they had estimated the difficulties we would encounter in disposing of our vast military force; and, above all, it showed the folly of standing armies in a light in which it had never before been presented. The effect of this report on our credit was felt instantly. I have already had application for the agency to sell our bonds in Paris, though the govt. has not yet lifted the interdict upon their quotation at the Bourse. No one in Paris would have touched them three weeks ago.

Kind remembrances to your family.

Most truly yours

BIGELOW TO THURLOW WEED

PARIS, May 16, 1865.

My dear Sir:

Has not my optimism been vindicated? Is there not a Providence? Are not the people of the U. S. wiser than any one man among them? Who can say, I did it? Who has had his own way? Whose counsel has not been thwarted? Whose plans have been followed to the end, who now wishes his own views had prevailed? Who does not find the result far in excess of his most sanguine expectations from plans and policies about which he was most tenacious? .Who is now so stupid that he does not see that in our darkest hour "God's hand was not shortened, that he could not save, nor his ear deaf, that he could not hear"? If there was ever a series of events which preached a superintending Providence with irresistible eloquence right straight to the hearts of men, that series culminated in the murder of Abraham Lincoln. The wonderful wisdom with which our people have been guided blindfold through this rebellion should, and I think will, teach most of them precious lessons of modesty and of toleration, and dispose us as a nation henceforth "to walk humbly with our God."

I am glad to hear so good an account of Hay, but why in the world does he not report for duty? This legation probably never had as much work in hand as since I have been in charge, and from the commencement I have been practically without a Secretary. I have employed persons to write, but it is impossible to put talesmen picked up at random into full commission here. I hope at least one of the Secretaries will come on without delay. I am delighted to hear that you think of coming out again this summer. If you do you will encounter a different public sentiment from that which greeted you on your last visit. We begin to be felt here again as a Nation. There is nobody left now in Europe to sneer at our soldiership or at our statesmanship.

Can we not take advantage of this reaction in our favor in Europe to resume specie payments? The prompt proposal to reduce our army has had a wonderful effect upon our credit

here, first by showing that we have no thought of pursuing an aggressive foreign policy, and secondly for the proof it furnishes that no such military taste has been developed as will require a large standing army, so generally apprehended. If in the course of a few weeks we can have notice that 200 or 300 of our war vessels are to be put in the market, my opinion is that we could have all the gold that we should require to resume specie payments, placed to our credit. No time, however, should be lost. European bankers will have no dealings with a govt. that does not accept the specie standard of value. While it was uncertain how much we might have to expend in war, they excused us, though they would not trust us. If we delay now to resume the specie standard, they will mistrust our moral standard. Besides, bye and bye political questions will arise to divide us and create alarm abroad, prejudicial to our credit. In my opinion, there will never be so good a time as the earliest moment to repeal the legal tender clause practically by the Administration and actually when Congress meets. The next step would be to reduce the tariff to a strictly revenue basis. When it was our policy to discourage importations, which had to be paid for in gold, the present tariff answered the purpose, but such a need, I am happy to say, no longer exists. The quicker now we lower prices by reducing the tariff, the sooner will our revenue from imports meet its proper share of the public expenditures, and the burden of taxation be indirectly lightened to the backs of the people. Whatever party adopts these two principles for its guidance, *specie payments* and a *revenue tariff*, will sooner or later rule the country.

What you say about Henderson afflicts me very much, though what I have heard from other quarters had in a measure prepared me for it. I hope and am disposed to believe that he was rather the victim of a mistake; of ignorance and inexperience, than of any moral obliquity. It often happens that persons are lifted by sudden prosperity into contact with temptations of the nature of which they have no comprehension until after becoming their victims.

By the way, ought I to tender my place to the President? I would not wish to hold it a day if he would prefer to have any other person here. In this I am serious. I do not know but there is some etiquette about these things of which I am

ignorant. If there is, I think I may count upon the friendship of you or of King to give me a hint. Don't imagine that it would cost me a sigh to give up this post, flattering as it is, and never so much so as at this moment; for what I would lose in one respect I would gain in others, which I prize more than any political distinctions.

Excuse this long letter, which I am writing while I should be sleeping.

Yours very truly

HUNTER, ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 16, 1865.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 86, and its enclosures, informing me of the unanimous expressions of sympathy which have emanated from the government and people of France with the victims of the horrible crime which deprived us of our President, and maliciously injured the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State. I will thank you to convey to the Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and others, the grateful acknowledgments of this government for the words of condolence which they have addressed to us in the hour of mourning. I am happy to be able to inform you of the improved health of Mr. Seward and his son Mr. Frederick.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

HUNTER TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 19, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 3d instant, No. 87, announcing the proceedings of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the French

legislative bodies in regard to the assassination of President Lincoln, and transmitting translations of the report of proceedings of the legislative bodies, embracing the substance of the despatch to the Chargé d'Affaires of France here on the subject, has been received.

The Marquis de Montholon has promptly presented at this department the original of the despatch referred to, a reply to which will be made the occasion of a special communication; but I will take this occasion for saying that the earnestness and sincerity with which these branches of the French government have expressed their horror of the atrocious crime, their sympathy with the people of the United States, and their high tribute to the virtue and greatness of the illustrious dead, are regarded as honorable evidences of their justice and humanity, and of their friendly disposition towards this nation.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LIVERPOOL, May 19, 1865.

Sir:

Just as I was leaving Paris last evening, on my way to this city, I received a note from M. Auguste Cochin, with an address to the President of the United States, of which enclosures Nos. 1 and 2 are copies.

This address, as you will observe, is the first public act of a body of gentlemen, all eminent as directors of public opinion in France, who have organized themselves under the title of "The French Committee of Emancipation," to correspond with societies founded in America, England, and elsewhere, for seconding the utter abolition of slavery, the education and assistance of the families of freedmen, and the publication of all information that relates to this great cause of humanity.

In acknowledging the receipt of this address I shall promise M. Cochin and his illustrious associates my cordial co-operation in their efforts to enable the world to share the benefits of our experience of slavery and of emancipation.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosure No. 1]

COCHIN TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, May 17, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to send to you, in the name of the "French Committee of Emancipation," an address which we beg you will communicate to the President of the United States.

You will remark that this committee is formed to follow and second, whether by testimonials of sympathy or by the agency of the press, the great social transformation which is taking place in your country. It is important that Europe be not badly informed about nor remain indifferent to the liberation of many thousands of slaves.

Our design, our ambition, is to publish, explain, all the details of this great moral victory by exposing facts to all the calumnies which the rancor of private interests temporarily compromised is able to invent. Such was our motive for organizing ourselves into a permanent committee.

Our first act has been to draft the address which I send to you. We shall endeavor to add to our numbers new members, especially from the press. I shall keep you advised of our efforts, and beg you will believe us all at your disposition.

I ask of you the prompt transmission of our address, an acknowledgment of its reception for the committee, and a communication of all documents that may appear from time to time of a nature to render our good wishes available.

I shall have the honor to see you again; but without waiting for the opportunity, I wish to congratulate you upon this discourse, so noble, so Christian, so useful, which you have pronounced, and which the *Moniteur* has reproduced.

Receive, dear sir, my very devoted respects.

It would be kind of you to give me confidentially a list of the principal public men of the United States to whom it would be well to send the address.

[Enclosure No. 2]

ADDRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMITTEE OF EMANCIPATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MAY, 1865

Translation

PARIS, May 1, 1865.

A committee is formed in Paris, under the title of the French Committee of Emancipation, for the purpose of corresponding with the societies founded in America, England, and other countries, to aid the entire abolition of slavery, the education and assistance of the freed families, and the publication of all facts connected with that great cause of humanity.

The committee is provisionally composed of the Duc de Broglie, former president of the committee of 1843 for the abolition of slavery; Guizot, of the French Academy, honorary presidents; Laboulaye, of the Institute, president; Auguste Cochin, of the Institute, secretary; Audley, Prince de Broglie, of the French Academy; Leopold de Gaillard; Charles Gaumont, former member of the committee of 1848; Leon Lavedan, Henri Martin, Guillaume Monod, Comte de Montalembert, of the French Academy; Henri Moreau, E. de Pressensé, H. Wallon, of the Institute; Cornelis de Witt.

The first act of this committee was the presentation of the following address:

To ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States of America.

Mr. President:

The undersigned, faithful friends of the United States, sons of the French nation who fought for the independence of your nation, permit themselves to address to you the expression of the sentiments produced in their soul by the horrid crime that has placed in your hands the functions of Abraham Lincoln and the care of his memory.

He did not die in battle among the soldiers of the Union; he perished by the hand of an assassin. He is dead, but his country still lives, and his death may be beneficial to it if the United States, suppressing the horrors of the first emotion, will lament their President, imitate him, and listen to him still, instead of avenging him.

We French have also experienced civil war; more than once have we seen the most noble and innocent victims sink under unexpected blows in the midst of sanguinary struggles. The hand of a murderer has always perpetrated these acts. Crimes are isolated, glories are national. The guilty man seals his own fate as well as that of

his victim. Leaving the assassin in the shade of his ignominy, let us think only of the dead, and let us repeat the sentence that must have been the supreme wish of his soul, "May my blood be the last that is shed."

Punish the guilty, punish those monsters, hateful alike to all parties, who murder men by the side of their wives and attack the sick in their beds, but do not suffer indignation to seek revenge afar.

The only vengeance worthy of Abraham Lincoln is the purification of conscience, the return of opinion, the melancholy glory shed upon his name, and especially the energetic union of his successor with his ministers, his generals, and the representatives of the people to finish the work that he began so nobly.

History will perform its part. We will show his soul in no pompous language, but in the simple praise of his life and of his words, or rather by his acts and by his language.

A simple smile pervaded Europe in the autumn of 1860 when it was heard that an obscure lawyer from the little town of Springfield, in the State of Illinois, was seated in the place of the great Washington, and that he had left his modest mansion to advocate three causes: the integrity of the national territory, the supremacy of the Constitution, the limitation and perhaps the suppression of slavery. The smile was broader when we learned that this President, once a carpenter, a boatman and a clerk, had to carry on war, to triumph over the evil designs of Europe, to quell domestic dissensions, and to contend with military, financial and political difficulties all at the same time.

In fact, he was neither financier, nor general, nor director, nor diplomatist, nor seaman; he was only a man of the people, honest, religious, modest and determined; who had read nothing but the Bible and the Life of Washington before he was twenty-five years of age; who had known no other school than that of life; had no instructor but labor, no protector but liberty.

It is hard to comprehend in Europe, in spite of our love of equality, how a man can reach the highest rank without protection, and how he can sustain himself without pride. We cannot see the power an honest man finds in the two great weapons—conscience and patience. These qualities formed the whole strength of Mr. Lincoln. It was his secret.

On the morning of the 11th of February, 1861, a few friends attended him to the railway station in Springfield. He started after his election, alone and without an escort, to be inaugurated as President.

"My friends," said he, "no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. A duty devolves upon

me which is greater perhaps than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will pray that I may receive that divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which, success is certain."

He who pronounced this touching farewell had not yet been inaugurated, and the South was already in arms.

Federal electors were chosen on the 6th of November, 1860, and the majority (180 out of 303) were favorable to Lincoln. South Carolina raised the standard of revolt on the 20th of December. On the 11th of January, 1861, the governor of that State ordered the commander of Fort Sumter, near Charleston, to surrender. Major Anderson, commander of the fort, consulted the new President on the 6th of February, and answered, "If you besiege me, if you begin the civil war, *the responsibility will rest upon you.*"

Calm and firm, in spite of these provocations, the President in his first message (4th of March, 1861) addressed to the insurgents these words, which clearly show the origin and true causes of the war:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you; you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.

"One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute.

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must; there must be submission on the one side or the other. If a minority secede, another minority will secede from them, and thus cause ruin. Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy."

These words were uttered on the 4th of March, and on the 12th of April, at four o'clock in the morning, the first cannon was fired by the South. President Lincoln believed so little in the long continuation of the war, that on the 15th of April he called out only seventy-five thousand men to arms; but he was so firmly resolved to maintain the Constitution, and to interpret it in favor of human liberty, that in passing through Philadelphia a short time before his inauguration, even in the hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, he said:

"I have often inquired what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but I hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. Can the country be saved on this basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it; but if it cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. I am ready to live for this principle, or, if God so ordains it, to die for it."

He was assassinated; but the war is over, the Union exists, slavery is destroyed; and before he fell, Mr. Lincoln entered the rebel capital, and on the morning of his death he publicly eulogized the brave adversary, Robert Lee, whom his brave generals had just conquered, thus honoring him who had surrendered his arms.

He lived to raise the national Union colors in Richmond just four years from the day when, invited to raise the national standard on Independence Hall, he said:

"Besides this, our friends had provided a magnificent flag. I had to raise it; and when it went up, I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm; when the cord was pulled and it flaunted in the bright glowing sunshine of the morning, I hoped it was a propitious omen. I was the humble instrument in its elevation; the people had made it, and arranged the machinery for its hoisting; and if I can have the same generous coöperation of the people of the nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously."

After having laid aside the emblems of his power, in the midst of war and in the face of calumny, to submit to a new election, at the moment of his second inauguration on the 4th of March, 1865, he pronounced these memorable words, which have become a solemn testament:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do

all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Admirable words, and well worthy of him who wrote again, at the end of his message of the 1st of December, 1862, in which, after delaying, waiting, suffering, for two years, he finally resolved to propose the abolition of slavery:

"Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation."

Upon you, Mr. President, has the guardianship of that honor and the heritage of that great man devolved. Like him, you were a working-man; like him, you have gained bread, knowledge, esteem and power, by the sweat of your brow; like him, you bravely defended the Union in the Senate; like him, you hate slavery; like him, you are surrounded by great ministers, great generals, that hate would have laid with him in death. It is your duty to enter into the sentiments of Abraham Lincoln, and to finish the work of force by conciliation.

Peace, amnesty, union, liberty, new prosperity! These were certainly the designs of Mr. Lincoln. Such are the vows of the civilized world. Be generous in victory, after having been inflexible in contest.

Europe did not expect to see a commercial people become warlike, without the military spirit lapsing into despotism. Europe did not expect to see four millions of poor slaves resist the temptation to revolt, and twice save a country that persecuted them, by furnishing it brave soldiers, and exciting an external interest, an emotion of opinion which probably prevented intended interventions. Europe did not expect to see the North, caught unprepared, conquer the South, so brave and well provided.

But spare us more surprises, and console us for the length and the calamities of the war by a prompt, solid and generous peace among all the citizens of that nation to which has been given the beautiful name of *The Union*. The future will say that Washington founded it, that Lincoln and you rebuilt it. May his blood be the last shed!

BIGELOW TO COCHIN

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 19, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have had the honor to receive your note of the 17th instant, enclosing the address which, in the name of the French Com-

mittee of Emancipation, you request me to present to the President of the United States, and I have already given it the direction you desired.

The sympathy of such a body, composed as it is of some of the most eminent guides of public opinion in Europe, will be gratefully appreciated by the President, while their wise counsel will be sure to receive the consideration which is due to such an exalted source, and none the less because it reflects with simple fidelity the settled and constant policy of my government from the commencement of this rebellion.

It is needless for me to say how highly the President and people of the United States will appreciate the efforts, of which this address is the first fruit, to popularize the lessons of which the late insurrection in America has been so fruitful, nor how cordially I shall coöperate with those who have been so happily inspired. I shall be proud to have my name associated, in however humble a way, with an organization so competent as the one you represent to crown with success the noble work to which they have pledged their talents and their fame.

I am, dear sir, etc.

P.S. I will send the list of names you ask for, very soon.

HUNTER TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 22, 1865.

Sir:

The Marquis de Montholon has left with me a copy of a despatch of the 28th of April, which had been addressed to M. L. de Geoffroy by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, charging him with the expression to the government of the United States of the sentiments entertained by the Emperor and the government of France in regard to the assassination of President Lincoln, the emotions of horror and sympathy inspired by that untimely catastrophe, and their high estimation of his virtues and career.

That despatch is marked by a spirit of generosity and hearty

sympathy towards the United States, which does honor to the ancient friendship between the two nations, and which is cordially reciprocated. Your recent despatch informed me of the proceedings adopted by the Senate and the Legislative Corps of France on this subject. I must request you to inform M. Drouyn de Lhuys of the light in which all of these manifestations of good will are regarded, and that they will find a permanent place in the grateful memories of the government and people of the United States. With this view, you will be pleased to leave with M. Drouyn de Lhuys a copy of this instruction.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 23, 1865.

Sir:

On my return to Paris this morning I found a communication from his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of which enclosure No. 1 is a copy and No. 2 a translation. It is in reply to a communication which I left with his Excellency on the 12th instant, a copy of which was transmitted to you in my despatch No. 91. I have only time to-day to say that the policy of the French government as here defined, in reference to a withdrawal of the imperial declaration of September, 1861, is substantially the same as that recently proclaimed in Parliament by Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston. It also notifies me that (following the example of England) the Minister of Marine has repealed the restrictions upon the sojourn of the vessels of war in French ports.

I am disposed to dispute the competence of the French government to make any distinct renunciation of the right of search, a condition precedent to a withdrawal of the belligerent privileges conceded to the rebels in 1861, on the ground that if those privileges are withdrawn on our application, we are responsible to them just as much as they are to us for any future abuse of the power to search neutral vessels. By now asking them to treat us no longer as belligerents, we voluntar-

ily come under all the obligations of non-belligerents, just as upon their own theory by becoming *de facto* belligerents, and without any declaration of war, we as well as our enemies at once become entitled from neutrals to all the privileges and incur all the penalties of belligerents. M. Drouyn de Lhuys admits the war is ended. He has then no more authority to exact from us a renunciation of the right to search neutral ships than he would have to exact a renunciation of our right to go to war again if we should ever fancy we had provocation.

I labor under the disadvantage of not knowing what view Mr. Adams has taken of the late declaration of the British government, and I shall take a few days to reflect before determining what, if any, answer should be made before hearing from you.

I am, sir, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, May 19, 1865.

Sir:

You have been good enough to communicate to me officially various proclamations issued by President Lincoln in the course of the last month. These documents call for some observations on my part, which I have the honor to submit to you.

The ships of the United States, says Mr. Lincoln, have been subjected in certain countries to a régime restricting them from immunities and privileges which were assured to them by treaties, custom and international law, while the ships of those same countries have continued to enjoy the same privileges and immunities previously enjoyed by them in the ports of the United States. This difference must henceforth cease, and foreign ships of war will be treated in the ports of the United States in the same way as are the federal ships in the ports of those countries.

As far as we are concerned, the treatment applied to federal ships of war, and to which it is intended to submit ours, is that which is prescribed by the obligations of neutrality with re-

spect to belligerents, the object being to protect the dignity and responsibility of neutrals. Federal belligerent ships cannot now remain in our ports more than 24 hours, unless under certain unavoidable circumstances; they cannot sell their prizes there, nor provide themselves with arms and ammunition; they can only procure whatever is necessary for the subsistence of their crews and the safe navigation of the ship. In case of the simultaneous presence in a French port of ships of war, cruisers, or merchant ships, of the two belligerents, an interval of 24 hours at least is to elapse between the departure of the ships of one of the belligerents and the subsequent departure of the ships of the other. Such are the regulations consecrated by the almost universal custom of all nations, and which we have observed in the present war. Now, by what assimilation are these regulations to be applied to our flag? We are not at war with any one; we take no prizes, therefore, into the ports of the United States; nor do we go there to obtain means of aggression against an enemy, nor to seek the opportunity of a collision. Where, then, are the reasons which would justify this pretended reciprocity of treatment in situations so dissimilar?

I do not dispute, however, sir, that the results of the late military operations have considerably modified the situation of the two belligerent parties; but I must observe that the federal government itself furnishes proof that the state of war still exists, and falls into a kind of contradiction if, while demanding of neutrals the abandonment of the conditions of neutrality, it persist in exercising against their ships the right of search and capture—a right which it claims solely from its quality of belligerent.

Receive the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

PARIS, May 20, 1865.

Sir:

I have received the note which you did me the honor to address to me on the 10th of this month.

Referring to the decisive events which have passed in the United States, and which have completed the defeat of the

southern Confederate States, you ask if the declaration of neutrality of the 10th of June, 1861, has not ceased to effect the useful purposes that it might have in view, now that the insurrectionary government has no seat or settled existence; that its armies are broken and dispersed; that it has no longer a single port open to it on the seas, and that its flag no longer floats but over a few vessels built in foreign ports, and wandering without any possible refuge about the ports of their country. You ask, at the same time, if the period is not arrived when it would be an unfriendly act on the part of France to refuse to the United States navy the hospitality which the French navy has always found in the ports of the Union, and if the insurgents have not lost every right to the privileges of belligerents recognized by the imperial government.

In the first place, sir, I presume it is understood that the conduct pursued by the Emperor's government from the beginning of the conflict cannot be regarded as in any way dictated by an unfriendly feeling towards the United States, although you state, in the communication to which I have the honor to reply, that you are unwilling to discuss the necessity or the propriety of our declaration of 1861. I do not the less feel it my duty again to affirm that the Emperor's government could not have acted otherwise than it has done; that it was at once its duty and its right to recognize, in the imposing and regularly organized forces which entered upon the struggle in the heart of the American Union, all the characteristics which constitute belligerents, and to proclaim its neutrality from that time. There could be neither hesitation nor controversy as to the line of conduct to be pursued. Facts forced themselves upon all with sovereign authority, and the government of the United States itself—I may recall to its honor—did not misunderstand it, for it has observed towards its adversaries, in carrying on the war, the usages which prevail in hostilities between independent nations.

But, in our opinion, the measures taken by us in consequence of a state of war, manifest and declared, ought not to be continued when the situation which had rendered them obligatory has ceased to exist. Now everything shows that the time is at hand when the federal government will be able to depart from the attitude which the necessities of war still impose upon it. As soon as we are informed that it relinquishes the

right of search and capture in respect of neutral ships there will no longer be any question of belligerency in respect to the United States for us to consider, and we shall hasten to acknowledge it. We shall be happy immediately to suppress all the restrictions which a state of war has imported into our relations, and especially to offer in our ports the most cordial and perfect hospitality to the ships of a nation which we have long been accustomed to treat as a friend.

I am happy to be able to announce to you that in the present state of things his Majesty's government from this day no longer considers it necessary to retain the regulation limiting to twenty-four hours the stay which the ships of war of the United States were authorized to make in our ports; consequently, the Minister of the Navy has just revoked it.

Receive the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

JOHN G. NICOLAY TO BIGELOW

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1865.

My dear Sir:

The great calamity of Mr. Lincoln's death, which plunged our whole country into mourning and brought inexpressible personal sorrow to myself, has thus far delayed my acknowledging your very kind reply to my letter, and has up to this time also prevented my proceeding to my new post of duty in Paris, as I had intended.

I write this to thank you sincerely for your courtesy, and also to apprise you that Major Hay and myself expect to sail from New York for Europe on the steamer *City of London,* which leaves New York on the 24th of June next. We should have started sooner, but the great rush of travel which has suddenly sprung up had engaged all available passage up to that time.

I rather think now that we shall get off at Queenstown and take a hurried look at England on our way. But of this I will write you more definitely as soon as we complete our plans.

Your obedient servant

P.S. I return you M. Laboulaye's letter as requested.

THURLOW WEED TO BIGELOW

ALBANY, May 29, 1865.

My dear Friend:

I appear in a new character—a Flatterer! But after reading, as I have with gratified and grateful emotions, your reply to the Americans in Paris, I must "speak or split." It is so beautiful and touching and *finished* that I am all in a glow. I now know what language was made for, and what it can accomplish when words are fitly chosen. Verily, Dr. Franklin survives in his Diplomatic successor. I shall never see clouds "without looking for the silver lining."

Let me tell you that Mr. Adams has written a complaining, captious and most urgent letter to Seward, for no other cause than that he has not been informed that he is to remain in London, so that he could re-rent his house. This could not have been done. This unkind letter was the first Seward received after his partial recovery, and disturbed him greatly. The place has now been offered to Preston King, but we need him for other duties, and it stands open. *All this is for you only.*

Mr. Johnson will justify your good opinion of him, by making us a good President. He holds that States are not out of the Union; that Treason is a crime; and that the States themselves must settle the suffrage question.

We go to New York to-morrow to reside in Mr. Raymond's house. Mrs. Raymond, with her children, left for Havre on Friday. I am pressed hard to go to work on the *Times,* but hesitate.

I tell Mr. Bowles that if you say so, he will be appointed Agent, etc.

I left Preston King in N. Y., visiting Bryant, Greeley, and others, who are, or seem, unfriendly to Mr. Johnson, as they were to Mr. Lincoln.

Chase, you see, is running again for President. He is now rash and viciously ambitious.

Ever most truly

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

U. S. Legation,
May 29, 1865.

My dear Mr. Seward:

In view of the great and seasonable services rendered to our country during the past four years by Messrs. Cobden, Bright and the *Star* newspaper, conducted till very recently by Mr. Bright's brother-in-law, Mr. Lucas, deceased, there will doubtless be a disposition among our people to associate themselves in some testimonial to their honor. I see great difficulties and risks attending any of the ordinary modes of testifying the nation's sensibility in these cases, and I am therefore induced to propose for your consideration one which seems open to fewest objections and which would be likely to give the most complete satisfaction. It is that Congress present to the widows of Cobden and Lucas each a tract of say ten thousand acres of land, to be selected by themselves from any of the unappropriated public lands. This would be a delicate attention to Mr. Bright, to which no exception could be taken; it would be a welcome addition to the resources of the widows—Mrs. Lucas, I suppose, is poor—and it would really cost us nothing, for the emigration, which such grant would induce, would speedily indemnify us for our land.

I need not argue this subject with you. Your judgment will determine instinctively whether the idea is practicable, and if so what steps should be taken to secure for it the *unanimous* support of Congress. I have requested Mr. Hoe, who knows all the people about the *Star* intimately and who thinks well of this suggestion, to hand you this letter and to give or procure, if he has it not, any further information upon the subject that you may require.

Yours very sincerely

WILLIAM H. RUSSELL TO BIGELOW

18 Sumner Place, Onslow Square,
My dear Bigelow: [London], May 30, 1865.

. . . . . .

I don't know whether the Atlantic Cable will be of use or not in this affair. As to the said Cable there appear to be no doubts now. Foster and many of the strong Union men here think it will be of immense service in preventing the mischief arising from the bias of correspondents, but an immense deal depends on the way in which the messages are to be supervised, and some special agency ought to be appointed to look over all public and political dispatches. I hope in God there may be nothing but peace and good will to speed along the wire in its ocean bed. I am not half so nervous about war as I was, but I am sure the execution of Jeff Davis would strengthen the hands of the Anti-Union men in this country and make the United States very much disliked. Already they say Jeff Davis will surely be lynched, and that he will never have a fair trial, etc. Notwithstanding their ill luck as prophets, they go on with the business. I really do not believe the execution of Davis would prove of the smallest advantage to us in any way, even in the affirmation of a principle, whilst it would unquestionably attach to the conquering people a reputation for severity which all their long-continued course of clemency previously could not countervail. After all, Jeff was but the exponent and typical man of views held by millions of Americans, and his head is not mounted on six millions of necks. Universal emancipation will be his moral hangman. I am very much gratified to hear of Mr. Seward's recovery and that of his son, and hope to hear they may soon be all that friends wish them to be. There is much to thank Mr. Seward for on this side of the water, because men less scrupulous could not have withstood the temptation to have "blown the bellows." Plon-Plon will be mischievous, I think, after the tremendous fall[1] he has received from *sa majesté.*

Your affectionate friend

[1] Plon-Plon was rewarded for making a refractory speech in Algeria by being deprived of his rank of Regent and as president of the commission for publishing the papers of Napoleon I.

HUNTER TO BIGELOW

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1865.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 10th instant, No. 90, transmitting a copy of your correspondence with a number of citizens of the United States, residing in France, in regard to the assassination of President Lincoln and to the attempts upon the lives of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State. In reply, I have to inform you that the correspondence is highly approved.

I am, sir, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 31, 1865.

Sir:

Among the manifold testimonials of sympathy elicited by the assassination of our late President some have seemed worthy of being transmitted to Washington to be read and, perhaps, placed among the archives of the government; others have other destinations, for reaching which the facilities of the State Department are more or less requisite. I transmit them in a body, trusting that you will give them, respectively, their proper direction.

I have divided them into three categories: the first category consists of eleven letters addressed to Mrs. Lincoln; the second category consists of twenty-nine communications from masonic lodges, three addressed to President Johnson, eighteen to the United States minister at Paris, and eight to American lodges; the third category consists of four letters and addresses to heads of the government and of twenty-eight to the United States minister at Paris—making in all seventy-two enclosures.

Though these form but a small proportion, numerically, of the testimonials of sympathy which have been already addressed to me by the people of France, and a still smaller proportion of those yet to be expected, they will suffice to show not only how profoundly the nation was shocked by the dreadful crime which terminated President Lincoln's earthly career, but how deep a hold he had taken upon the respect and affections of the French people. It is difficult to exaggerate the enthusiasm which his name inspires among the masses of Europe at this moment—an enthusiasm before which the ruling classes, however little disposed to waste compliments upon anything tainted with republicanism, are obliged to incline. I think it is generally conceded that the death of no man has ever occurred that awakened such prompt and universal sympathy at once among his own country people and among foreign nations. There can be no better evidence that the world is advancing in civilization than this unprecedented and spontaneous homage to the virtues of Mr. Lincoln. It shows that the moral standard of nations has been greatly exalted within the memory of living men. It does not deserve to be reckoned among the secondary achievements of our people during the last four years to have furnished the world with such a striking demonstration of this gratifying truth.

I am, sir, etc.

[Enclosures to dispatch No. 109]

FIRST CATEGORY

Letters addressed to Mrs. Lincoln

1, L'Alliance Religieuse Universelle; 2, Souverain Chapitre des Amis Triomphants à l'Orient de Paris; 3, the students of the faculty of Protestant theology of Montauban; 4, translation of letter from the conference of French pastors held in Paris April 27, 1865; 5, Madame Sempé and two other ladies; 6, Escarré and twenty others; 7, ode of M. Descottes; 8, the pastors of the Drôme and Ardèche; 9, the hatters of the house of Didé of Nîmes; 10, sealed letter; 11, Ein Deutsch-Amerikaner, in memoriam.

(The above enclosures forwarded to Mrs. Lincoln.)

SECOND CATEGORY

From Free Mason lodges, addressed to the United States Minister at Paris

1, St. John's Lodge, Amis de la Vérité; 2, Chapter Lodge, les Amis Triomphants; 3, Chapter Lodge, Clémente Amitié; 4, Scotch Lodge, Élus de St. Étienne; 5, Chapter Lodge, Mars et les Arts; 6, Scotch Lodge, No. 146, La Ligne Droite; 7, Chapter Lodge, les Amis de la Patrie; 8, Chapter Lodge, l'Avenir; 9, Scotch Lodge, No. 88, la Prévoyance; 10, St. John Lodge, No. 147, du Héros de l'Humanité; 11, Supreme Lodge, Scotch Rite; 12, St. John Lodge, St. John of Jerusalem; 13, St. John Lodge, Tolérance et Progrès; 14, Lodge d'Henri IV.; 15, Lodge Le Berceau d'Henri IV. of Pau; 16, Lodge l'École de la Morale of Libourne; 17, St. John Lodge, La Persévérance.

Letters to Lodges

1, La Renaissance par les Émules d'Hiram to the Grand Lodge of New York; 2, La Renaissance par les Émules d'Hiram to the Grand Lodge of Illinois; 3, La Renaissance par les Émules d'Hiram to the Grand Lodge of New York, colored; 4, Les Amis de l'Ordre to the Grand Lodge of New York; 5, Le Temple des Familles to the Freemasons of the United States; 6, Le Temple des Familles to the colored lodge of New York; 7, The Scotch Lodge, No. 176, L'Espérance Savoysienne to the Grand Lodge of New York, No. 17: 8, L'Alliance Fraternelle to the Grand Lodge of New York.

Letters to President Johnson

1, St. John Lodge, Orion, of Gaillac, Tarn; 2, Scotch Lodge, No. 146, La Ligne Droite; 3, Chapter Lodge, de la Bonne Foi.

THIRD CATEGORY

Miscellaneous Letters and Addresses to the President and Others

1, Abraham Lincoln, in memoriam, by Ein Deutsch-Amerikaner; 2, letter, sealed, to President Johnson; 3, address of the Evangelical Alliance of Lyons; 4, sealed letter to Mr. Seward.

Letters to the United States Minister at Paris

1, Adolphe Monod, avocat au Conseil d'État; 2, La Jeunesse Française, a deputation; 3, inhabitants of Boyan; 4, General the Count Faubert of Haïti; 5, students of the School of Medicine; 6, Franco-American colonists; 7, Louis and Casimir Didé of Nîmes, manufacturers; 8, *Courier du Dimanche;* 9, Chargé d'Affaires of Persia; 10, citizens of Guingamp, presented by M. Édouard Laboulaye; 11, Oscar de Lafayette; 12, verses by Auguste l'Allour; 13, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; 14, Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte; 15, Édouard Laboulaye; 16, committee for obtaining a canal by the Isthmus of Darien; 17, address of the Democrats of Tours; 18, Latin poem by F. B.; 19, Union Nationale du Comme et de l'Industrie; 20, Paul Thouzery, accompanying a poem; 21, members of the Protestant Church of Montauban and Toulouse, and of the London Abolition Society; 22, address from people of Strasbourg; 23, F. Campadelli, with poem; 24, inhabitants of Vierzon; 25, address from Americans at Pau; 26, letter from the conference of French pastors; 27, letter from the Rev. M. Barthe, president of the consistory of Pons; 28, L'Alliance Religieuse Universelle.

BIGELOW TO PRINCE NAPOLEON

Translation

(3d category, No. 14)

Paris, May 1, 1865.

Monseigneur:

I am sensibly touched by the expressions of sympathy which your Highness has had the goodness to address to me. If anything could allay our great national grief it would certainly be the abundant proofs which reach me from all parts of France that the loss we have just suffered is deplored by all those who know how to appreciate that which is great, which is noble, which is pure.

I shall hasten to transmit this kind expression of the sympathy of your Highness to the afflicted widow and other members of the family of our deceased President, who have the first right to the consolations which such a testimonial can give.

I have the honor to be, with most profound respect, your Highness's most humble and most obedient servant.

BIGELOW TO M. E. ISOARD

Translation

(3d category, No. 52)

PARIS, May 4, 1865.

Sir:

I thank you heartily for the sympathy you have pleased to show towards my country and its government on the occasion of the calamity which has just stricken them so cruelly.

Accept, I pray you, sir, the assurance of my distinguished respects.

BIGELOW TO M. DELBETZ

Translation

(3d category, No. 51)

PARIS, May 4, 1865.

Sir:

I am sensibly affected by the very cordial letter which you have pleased to address to me on the occasion of the horrible crime which has struck down our President, Mr. Lincoln.

Nothing, in my view of it, can more contribute to strengthen the very cordial relations which unite our two nations than the evidences of sympathy emanating from such men as you.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished and cordial respect.

BIGELOW TO M. MARAIS

Translation

(3d category, No. 29)

PARIS, May 4, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated April 16, and to thank you for the sympathy for my

country and its government, of which you are pleased to send me the expression on the occasion of the horrible crime which has so cruelly wounded us in the person of President Lincoln.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished sentiments.

Similar letters were addressed to Messrs. Guggernot, ainé (3d category, No. 46); Dalibelle (3d category, No. 12); Simille (3d category, No. 50); Dugit (3d category, No. 49); Rey (3d category, No. 19); Delestre (3d category, No. 48); Leborgne (3d category, No. 39); Dr. Bonifas (3d category, No. 45); Lemassou, fils (3d category, No. 16); Hénat (3d category, No. 15); Mexal (3d category, No. 54); S. M. Remale (3d category, No. 40); Lanaux (3d category, No. 36); P. Ionain (3d category, No. 20); P. Leconte (3d category, No. 22); P. Griel (3d category, No. 60); A. Rivière (3d category, No. 43); G. Descottes (1st category, No. 7); A. Schiegars (3d category, No. 22); I. B. Thurges (1st category, No. 13); H. Carle (1st category, No. 1); Campadelli (3d category, No. 61); Chaube (1st category, No. 57); Cherrier (1st category, No. 66); Banet Rivet (3d category, No. 36); Imbert (3d category, No. 33); Comte de Douchet (3d category, No. 34).

BIGELOW TO M. ALLAIN NIQUET

Translation

(3d category, No. 19)

PARIS, May 4, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated May 1, second anniversary of the National Union of Commerce and Industry, of which you are president.

I thank you sincerely for the very sympathizing resolution of which you send me the text, and will be greatly obliged to you to express to your colleagues how much I have been touched by this cordial manifestation of the sentiments of the traders of Paris toward my country and its government, so grievously tried by the loss of President Lincoln.

Please receive, Mr. President, the assurance of my most distinguished and most cordial sentiments.

BIGELOW TO M. I. M. TORRES CUICEDO

Translation

(3d category, No. 35)

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated April 26, and to express to you all my thanks for the sympathy of which you have sent me the evidence on the occasion of our great national mourning. In the midst of all these marks of kind regard which are given us at this moment, we are particularly sensitive about those which emanate from men belonging, like you, to the American continent, and who are devoted to our institutions.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my distinguished regards.

BIGELOW TO M. G. DE FÉLICE

Translation

(3d category, No. 21)

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

Sir:

I have been extremely touched by the very sympathizing letter which you were pleased to address me in your name, personally, and for several of your friends, members of the Protestant Church of France, and correspondents of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Permit me to say to you that I attach especial value to the privilege of seeing the efforts of my country and its government in the interest of the holy cause of humanity, appreciated with so much loftiness, by such men as you.

I beg you to accept my best thanks, and to transmit them

to your friends, among whom I find M. M. Courtois, with whom I had the happiness to make acquaintance at Toulouse.

Please receive the assurance of my sentiments of high consideration.

BIGELOW TO M. OSCAR DE LAFAYETTE

Translation

(3d category, No. 11)

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

Sir:

In the midst of all the testimonials of sympathy which I receive on the occasion of our great national mourning, none could bring me more real consolation than yours.

The name which you so worthily bear recalls the services which my country will always keep in remembrance, and will remain united in the gratitude of my countrymen with those of Washington and Lincoln.

Please, sir, to accept, with all my thanks, the assurance of my highest consideration.

BIGELOW TO REV. M. BARTHE

Translation

(3d category, No. 27)

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated May 2, through which you were pleased to send to me your adhesion to the well-considered address from your colleagues, present at this time in Paris.

I thank you cordially for the part you take in our great

national mourning, for the sympathy with which you appreciate our efforts in the interest of the sacred cause of humanity, and for the prayers you address to God in behalf of my country.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my sentiments of high consideration.

BIGELOW TO GENERAL THE COUNT FAUBERT

Translation

(3d category, No. 4)

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

General:

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of the address which you were pleased to transmit to me, as well in your own name as in that of your son, on the occasion of the crime of which Messrs. Lincoln and Seward have been victims, and I beg you to accept all my thanks for the sympathy of which you partake in our national mourning.

Receive, sir and general, the assurance of my most distinguished and most cordial sentiments.

BIGELOW TO M. ADOLPHE MONOD

Translation

(3d category, No. 1)

PARIS, May 6, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I thank you earnestly for the sympathy, the expression of which you were pleased to send me on the occasion of our

great national mourning, and for the delicate attention with which you have brought to my knowledge those touching words by which the pious pastor William Monod announced our misfortune to the Evangelical Society.

M. Monod had taken the trouble to write to me one of the kindest of letters, before his departure for America; but that letter only reached my legation after my departure for Brest, and when I got back to Paris, precipitately recalled by the terrible news of the death of Mr. Lincoln, it was impossible for me, in the midst of my occupations which assailed me, to send to M. Monod the information he sought of me. I will therefore be greatly obliged to you to write to him to make all excuses for me.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished respects.

BIGELOW TO MESSRS. L. & C. DIDÉ

Translation

(3d category, No. 7)

PARIS, May 9, 1865.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address you were pleased to send me, as well in your own name as in that of the working-men of your house. In the midst of the deep grief which has fallen on Mrs. Lincoln, there cannot be more effective consolation than the marks of sympathy by which she is surrounded, and I shall make it my duty to send her your address. I request you to accept yourselves, and cause your worthy operatives to receive, the expression of my thanks.

Receive, gentlemen, the assurances of my most distinguished regards.

BIGELOW TO M. MOLARD

Translation

(2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 2)

PARIS, May 10, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you have been pleased to address to me in the name of the "Masonic Lodge of Triumphant Friends." I beg you to accept personally and to transmit to the lodge all my thanks for the marks of sympathy which it has pleased to give to my country and its government on the occasion of our great national mourning.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my distinguished sentiments.

Similar letters were addressed to Messrs. Thierry (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 17); Leon Richer (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 8); Perrot (2d category, 3d subdivision, No. 2); A. Lacoste (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 21); Laverrière (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 13); Bourgeon fils (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 18); Bailleux (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 11); Massol (2d category, 2d subdivision, No. 4); Audieu (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 22); Coutherat (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 20); Lesueur (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 15); Thelmier (1st category, 1st subdivision, No. 2); La Flize (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 19); Guillet (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 4); Demure (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 14); Campagno (2d category, 2d subdivision, No. 10); Dr. Gerault (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 20); Lodges of Tours (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 16); Thirifocq (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 23); Eliot (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 23); Soubert (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 24); Maillier (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 25); A. Bourgeaux (2d category, 2d subdivision, No. 9); Roux (2d category, 2d subdivision, No. 14); Guilbert (2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 26).

BIGELOW TO HIS EXCELLENCY SULEYMAN KHAN

Translation

(3d category, No. 31)

PARIS, May 12, 1865.

M. Chargé d'Affaires:

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatch dated the 9th instant.

I will hasten to transmit to President Johnson the very sympathizing communication which you have been pleased to address to him through my intervention in the name of his Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia.

You may be sure that my country and its government will learn with cordial satisfaction the part which your august sovereign takes in our national mourning.

Accept, M. Chargé d'Affaires, the assurance of my very high consideration.

BIGELOW TO M. LÉON PELATTE

(3d category, No. 30)

PARIS, May 13, 1865.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 10th instant, covering an address from the Americans resident at Nice to the President of the United States.

I shall lose no time in transmitting it, agreeably to their request and yours.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO M. CHARPENTIER

Translation

(2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 3)

PARIS, May 15, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 10th May, and of the enclosure accompanying it, which I will hasten, in conformity with your desire, to forward to the address you have indicated to me.

Nothing can be more consoling to my compatriots, in the midst of our national mourning, than to learn how much their sorrow is shared in Europe, and I pray you to become the organ to the lodge "The Friends of Order" in Paris of all my gratitude for the sympathy which it sends to my country and to its government.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my very distinguished sentiments.

BIGELOW TO M. LESPERUT

Translation

(3d category, No. 33)

PARIS, May 17, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th, and of the biographical notice of the life of Mr. Abraham Lincoln which accompanied it. I pray you to receive all my thanks, and to believe in my most distinguished and most earnest regard.

BIGELOW TO M. MONGEL BEY

Translation

(3d category, No. 16)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 18, 1865.

Mr. President:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the international committee for establishing the American canal by the isthmus of Darien, over which you preside. You will much oblige me by transmitting to your colleagues my thanks for the sympathy whereof you send me so precious tokens, on the occasion of our great national mourning. I take pleasure in assuring you of the interest I feel in the success of enterprises which, like yours, are destined to render more easy the communication between different portions of the American continent, and by consequence to draw more close the ties of amity which unite their inhabitants.

Accept, sir, the expressions of my most distinguished sentiments.

BIGELOW TO C. DAVISSON, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT BORDEAUX

(3d category, No. 25)

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
PARIS, May 24, 1865.

Sir:

I have received the address of the citizens of Pau, which, at the request of your consular agent at that place, you were good enough to send me. It will be placed among the archives of the legation.

Yours very respectfully

BIGELOW TO M. E. DE MAGNIN

Translation

(1st category, No. 4)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 24, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your letter dated 20th instant, and of the address of the Pastoral Conference of the Drôme and the Ardèche to Mrs. Lincoln. You may count upon the gratitude with which the Christian spirit of the widow of our lamented President will receive the expressions of sympathy and the very touching consolations which you have been pleased to charge me to transmit to her, and I pray you to accept my thanks, with the assurance, Mr. President, of my sentiments of high consideration.

BIGELOW TO M. VIENNET, MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

Translation

(2d category, 1st subdivision, No. 11)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 24, 1865.

Sir:

Will you please to be the interpreter to the "Lodges of the Scotch Rite" of all the gratitude with which I have received the deeply sympathizing testimonial you have done me the honor to address to me in their name on the occasion of our great national mourning.

I shall make it a duty to respond to the wishes you have manifested to me, by transmitting to President Johnson and Mrs. Lincoln the expression of sentiments which will affect them deeply.

I avail of this occasion, sir, to say to you how much I congratulate myself on perceiving my country and its government so justly appreciated by men who, like you, are at the head of the republic of letters in Europe, and whose judgment is regarded as authority everywhere.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my sentiments of high and affectionate consideration.

BIGELOW TO M. CAMPADELLI

Translation

(3d category, No. 61)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 26, 1865.

Sir:

I thank you for the verses you have been pleased to address to me, and I accept with thankfulness the expression of the sympathizing sentiments which they contain for my country and its government, on the occasion of our national mourning, and of the great trials we have just passed through.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my very distinguished regards.

Similar letters were addressed to Messrs. Pierre Greil (3d category, No. 60); Paul Thouzery (3d category, No. 62); Auguste l'Allour (3d category, No. 63).

BIGELOW TO M. CHENIER

Translation

(3d category, No. 66)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, May 29, 1865.

Sir:

I thank you for the piece of verse, "America and Lincoln," which you have pleased to address to me. I have been truly

touched with the sympathizing homage which you have rendered with as much feeling as delicacy to the memory of our regretted President.

Accept, sir, the assurances of my distinguished respect.

BIGELOW TO MADAME BANET RIVET

Translation

(3d category, No. 35)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 6, 1865.

Madame:

I have perused with the liveliest interest the touching verses that you have done me the honor to address to me on the occasion of the abominable crime of which Mr. Lincoln has been the victim. I beg you believe in all my gratitude for so precious a mark of sympathy as you have been pleased to give to my country and to its government under this sad event.

Accept, madame, the assurance of my most respectful regards.

BIGELOW TO JAMES LESLEY, CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES

(3d category, No. 31)

PARIS, June 6, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have received the address from the democrats of Lyons which you sent me, and will lose no time in transmitting it to the President.

I am, dear sir. with great respect, your obedient servant

BIGELOW TO M. MELVILLE BLONCOURT

Translation

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 19, 1865.

Dear Sir:

I have been profoundly touched by the very sympathizing terms in which the creoles of Guadeloupe have appreciated the loss which my country and government has undergone in the death of Mr. Lincoln.

He merited their gratitude, for whilst he was the firm stay of humanity, he seemed to have been stirred up to become the special benefactor of the African race.

Although the hand of a dastardly assassin sufficed to reduce to silence that voice ever ready to answer to the calls of humanity and of justice, it has not power enough to resist the immortal influence of his example and of his august martyrdom. In any civilized country slavery cannot long survive such a life crowned by such a death.

I beg you, sir, to be so obliging as to transmit to your compatriots of Guadeloupe the expression of my grateful appreciation of their honorable sympathy, and accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your very obedient servant .

BIGELOW TO M. A. COCHIN

Translation

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, June 21, 1865.

Dear Sir:

The address of the French Committee of Emancipation, which you desired me to communicate to the President of the United States, has been received. I am instructed to express

to you the gratification he has derived from the evidence already furnished by your organization of the earnest desire of so respectable a body of French citizens to aid the people of the United States in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of that race which has suffered so long all the evils of slavery.

In response to your request for publications tending to promote the objects of your committee, I transmit herewith the third annual report of the National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia.

I am, dear sir, with high consideration, your very obedient servant

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, December 7, 1866.

My dear Sir:

I have been requested by a committee of some of the most eminent republicans of France to transmit the accompanying medal and letter to the widow of our late President Lincoln. No opportunity presenting itself immediately of sending directly to Mrs. Lincoln, I have thought best to send it by the despatch-bag directly to the State Department, and to rely upon your finding or providing suitable means for its delivery to Mrs. Lincoln. I was the less disinclined to give the State Department this trouble as I realize the importance of having Mrs. Lincoln seasonably and well advised in regard to the reply which it becomes her to make to the letter which is addressed to her.

I remain, dear sir, very faithfully yours

EMINENT CITIZENS OF FRANCE TRANSMIT A GOLD MEDAL TO MRS. LINCOLN

Translation

Madam:

On behalf of more than forty thousand French citizens, anxious to manifest their sympathies for the American Union, in the person of

one of its most illustrious and purest representatives, we are instructed to offer you the medal[1] which has been coined in honor of the great and good man whose name you bear.

If France had the freedom enjoyed by republican America, not thousands, but millions among us would have been counted as admirers of LINCOLN, and believers in the opinions for which he devoted his life, and which his death has consecrated.

Deign to accept, madam, the homage of our profound respect.

Members of the committee:

Etienne Arago	J. Delord	L. Greppo
Eug. Despois	V. Schoelcher	Laurent Pichat
J. Michelet	Edgar Quinet	Jules Barni
E. Littré	Ch. L. Charoin	V. Joignaux
Eugène Pelletan	Albert	Louis Blanc
L. Kneip	V. Chauffour	Victor Hugo
C. Thomas	Victor Maugin	

Mrs. Mary Lincoln.

MRS. LINCOLN TO THE ABOVE

Chicago, January 3, 1867.

Gentlemen:

I have received the medal you have sent me. I cannot express the emotion with which this proof of the sentiments of so many thousands of your countrymen fills me. So marked a testimony to the memory of my husband, given in honor of his services in the cause of liberty, by those who in another land worked for the same great end, touches me profoundly, and I beg you to accept, for yourselves and those whom you represent, my most grateful thanks.

I am, with the profoundest respect, your most obedient servant,

Mary Lincoln.

[1] The medal above mentioned is inscribed as follows:

"LINCOLN, *an honest man; abolished slavery, saved the republic, and was assassinated the 14th of April, 1865.*"

On the reverse:

"*Dedicated by the French democracy to* LINCOLN, *twice elected President of the United States.* Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!"

After the meeting of the deputies of the opposition, which took place April 30, the following letter was addressed to M. Schneider, vice-president of the legislative chambers:

Translation

Mr. President:

In presence of the misfortune which has just fallen upon the American republic, and seeing the demonstrations of foreign parliaments which have taken place, we cannot conceal our astonishment that we have not been called together in a public sitting, and we beg of you, sir, to satisfy the legitimate sentiment which we express to you.

Be pleased to accept, Mr. President, the expression of our high consideration.

Jules Favre	Bethmont	Garnier-Pagès
Carnot	Dorian	Joseph Maguin
Ernest Picard	Jules Simon	Lanjuinais
Herron	Pelletan	Glais-Bizoin
Guéroult		

ADDRESS OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE LEFT TO MR. BIGELOW, MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT PARIS

Translation

United from the bottom of our hearts with the American citizens, we desire to express to them our admiration of the great people who have destroyed the last vestiges of slavery, and for LINCOLN, the glorious martyr to duty.

Jules Favre	Fouray	A. Meray
Carnot	Louis Noir	Arnaud
Garnier-Pagès	Coutant	J. J. Blanc
Lanjuinais	Dr. Montanier	E. Guerin
Bethmont	Jules Simon	Ferrari
Ernest Picard	Pelletan	J. M. Cayla
Guéroult	Glais-Bizoin	Paugin
Alex. Bonneau	Joseph Maguin	Victor Meunier
J. Labbe	Dorian	Azevedo
H. Malot	Herron	J. Vinet
Joussenel	A. Malespine	Cauchot
Ed. Pompery	C. Sauvestre	Pfluger, Père

E. Clarac
F. Barbadie
H. Perra
J. Bachereau
G. Both (of Strasbourg)
Soissons
C. Mazandier
A. A. Madinier
Dinet
A. Rousseau
A. Bachereau
E. Martinet
J. Leroux
J. E. Grand
J. Leelereg
H. Pfeiffer
Herold
Francisque Sarcey
Man
Follenfaut
E. Huet
Davezac
V. B. Vignier
Baraguet
L. Tison
A. Simounin
H. Barclay
Legrand (Hub.)
Ch. Bonneau
Ch. Piguenot
L. Lazare
Olive
A. Gillot
A. Cogueret
G. Perrin
H. Gauter
Dreo
Emmanuel Arag[1]

Before dismissing the melancholy topic which has cast such a gloomy shadow over so many of the preceding pages, it is a satisfaction to give place here to some lines from the *London Punch,* the timeliness and magnanimity of which go far to expiate the wrongs for which it exhibits such an unreserved, unconditional and heartfelt contrition. A sin repented of is a battle of the conscience won.

FROM THE *LONDON PUNCH*

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier!
You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please!

[1]For the remainder of the correspondence with the Legation in Paris provoked by the untimely death of Lincoln, see "The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States, and the Attempted Assassination of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary, on the Evening of the 14th April, 1865" (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1867).

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain!

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for *you?*

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer—
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true;
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows;

How humble, yet how hopeful, he could be;
How in good fortune and in ill the same;
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head, and heart, and hand—
As one who knows where there 's a task to do;
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude nature's thwarting mights;—

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear—
  Such were the needs that helped his youth to train:
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
  If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
  And lived to do it: four long-suffering years'
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
  And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
  And took both with the same unwavering mood;
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
  And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
  Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
  Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
  Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
  To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

The old world and the new, from sea to sea,
  Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high!
  Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

A deed accurst! Strokes have been struck before
  By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
  But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out.

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
  Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven;
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life,
  With much to praise, little to be forgiven!

In the summer of 1908 I was happily inspired to address a request to our Ambassador in London to ascertain, if he could, and report to me, the name of the author of the foregoing

lines. In due time I received the following most satisfactory letter, which is sure to prove as gratifying to my readers as it was to myself.

WHITELAW REID TO BIGELOW

WREST PARK, AMPTHILL, BEDFORDSHIRE,
August 31, 1908.

My dear Mr. Bigelow:

Yours of August 17th is just at hand. It is a real pleasure for me to reply to your inquiry about the authorship of *Punch's* poem on Lincoln shortly after the announcement of his assassination.

A good deal of mystery seems to have been made about it for a long time, but the whole subject was cleared up last year in Mr. Layard's life of "Shirley Brooks of *Punch.*" Shirley Brooks, as you know, was on the staff of *Punch* in those days, and succeeded to the editorship in 1870, after the death of Mark Lemon. The verses were for a long time attributed to Brooks himself. In fact, this was done in Spielman's "History of *Punch.*" *Notes and Queries* later did the same thing. Before that some had attributed them to Tom Taylor, and others to Tennyson. The whole thing was cleared up by an extract from Shirley Brooks's diary. The verses appeared on May 6th after Lincoln's assassination. The next *Punch* dinner occurred on May 10th, and Brooks's entry in his diary was as follows:

"Dined *Punch,* all there. Let out my views against some verses on Lincoln, in which Tom Taylor had not only made *Punch* eat umble-pie, but swallow dish and all. Percival Leigh and John Tenniel with me."

So there you have it;—Tom Taylor writing the verses, Mark Lemon, the editor, approving them and inserting them, and Shirley Brooks, the next editor, opposing them and getting support from Percival Leigh and John Tenniel. The author of the life of Brooks found this entry confirmed in Mr. Silver's diary noting the same dinner. Silver quotes Shirley Brooks as protesting against Tom Taylor's lines on Lincoln, and say-

ing, "*Punch* has not been blind and shallow, and even if it had, we ought not to own it." After quoting some support given to this declaration by Leigh, Mark Lemon is quoted as totally disagreeing with them, and saying, "The avowal that we have been a bit mistaken is manly and just."

All this is given in this life of Shirley Brooks from which I have been quoting (published last year), as if it were the first authoritative revelation of the secret. I fancy, however, that the facts must have been known in literary circles long before, since our poor friend Stedman, in his "Victorian Anthology," quotes the verses and gives Tom Taylor as the author. As he was extremely painstaking about that sort of thing, the probability is that he either wrote to some friend connected with *Punch* for the facts, or got them orally.

Don't accept the current stories about the declining influence of the *London Times* at their face value. It is said to have been losing money, and it certainly made a shockingly costly mistake in the Pigott letters, if not also in some of its recent business ventures. But it is still the one paper which every English statesman of either party thinks it necessary to read, and the one accepted as authoritative in every foreign Chancellery, here or on the Continent. In the tariff matter, it probably speaks for the majority of the Conservative party, though I don't know that anybody can be sure of that. The one thing I am sure about is that the longer it is kept in the minority on that subject, the better for America!

No, I have had my sixty days' leave of absence this year, and shall probably not get home to vote—though my son has already gone back for that patriotic purpose! In fact, so far as I know, the precedents in this Embassy are all against the incumbents going home for such a purpose; and I fancy the same is true in nearly all our Embassies. I don't know exactly why it should be so, but then who does know why some precedents are established? There 's this comfort about it for me, viz., that all the reports from our own side, and many from the other side, indicate a confident belief in the certainty of Taft's election.

Mrs. Reid joins me in cordial regards to Miss Grace and yourself; and I am, as you must know, always

Very sincerely yours,

Whitelaw Reid.

As our national antiphon to the foregoing lines of *Punch* the following lines were written by William Cullen Bryant, in compliance with a request of the committee of arrangements when the body of the murdered President was borne in funeral procession through the city of New York, April, 1865. It should be read as the antiphon of the lines of the *London Punch.* It may be safely doubted if the obligations of his native land or of the whole world to Abraham Lincoln were ever more completely or more correctly stated before in so few words. It is a surprising circumstance that at the centennial anniversary of Lincoln's birth, when our nation was more universally moved to honor his memory than ever before at any anniversary of any other public functionary, it seems to have occurred to no one to reproduce these lines in the press or in the forum.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Oh, slow to smite and swift to spare,
Gentle and merciful and just!
Who, in the fear of God, didst bear
The sword of power, a nation's trust!

In sorrow by thy bier we stand,
Amid the awe that hushes all,
And speak the anguish of a land
That shook with horror at thy fall.

Thy task is done; the bond are free:
We bear thee to an honored grave,
Whose proudest monument shall be
The broken fetters of the slave.

Pure was thy life; its bloody close
Hath placed thee with the sons of light,
Among the noble host of those
Who perished in the cause of Right.

DROUYN DE LHUYS TO BIGELOW

Translation

PARIS, May 31, 1865.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to me the day before yesterday, in reply to my communication of the 20th instant.

The observations which my last note suggested to you turn, for the most part, on certain theoretical matters, the discussion of which between us does not appear to me either opportune or serviceable to the end which both of us have in view. I think that, without entering into these considerations, it is proper, in dealing with the question before us, to adhere to the reality of facts.

We proclaimed our neutrality four years ago, because we were in presence of manifest hostilities; besides, the federal government exercised towards neutrals the rights of war, and impliedly recognized the belligerent character of the Confederates.

In my letter of the 20th of May I acknowledged the great and decisive change which had been brought about in the situation of the two parties, respectively, by the military operations of the last two months. We have already been able, in consequence of that change, to give an assurance of our good will towards the United States, by immediately withdrawing the regulations which limited the stay of federal ships of war in the ports of the empire. On acquainting you with that resolution, I informed you of our intention to revoke, without delay, all the other restrictions required by our declaration of neutrality, so soon as we knew that the government of the Union, ceasing to regard itself as belligerent, no longer exercised the right of search and capture with respect to neutral ships; for it would be inconsistent to retain the rights of war while claiming from us the abandonment of our neutrality.

Therefore, sir, I have read with much satisfaction your letter of the 29th of May, from which I may infer that the impressions of the federal government are such as we should

desire to see them from a practical point of view. You tell me, in substance, "that the United States government, in applying for a repeal of the declaration of June, 1861, abandoned all of the rights of a belligerent which it is presumed to have claimed, and became directly responsible for anything it might do in the character of a belligerent." You then add: "If after the withdrawal of the imperial declaration it were to visit and search a neutral vessel, it would at once expose itself to reprisals, the same as for any other violation of international comity."

These declarations, sir, respond exactly to what I have had the honor of requiring of you, and bring us to agree upon the object we have in view. We have, therefore, no longer any objection to withdraw from the Confederates the quality of belligerents; and I am happy to congratulate you upon the opportunity which presents itself to revive the old sympathies of the two peoples whose interests and traditions constantly invite them to cultivate the most cordial friendship.

Receive, sir, the assurances of the high consideration, etc.

BIGELOW TO SEWARD

Private and Confidential

My dear Mr. Seward:

I enclose a note received a day or two since from a gentleman who has occasionally given me reliable and important information about Mexican matters. He is in commerce, speculates in foreign securities, a Tory in politics, and was bitten by the Confederate loan. He is the owner of the *Springbock,* seized as a blockade runner by one of our cruisers, and hopes to get indemnity for her. I send his note for what it is worth.

The paragraph about the articles in the *London Post* was in allusion to a succession of very virulent articles about the United States which appeared in that print a few weeks since and while Campbell was in Paris. I said to him that our people were prepared to forgive what was written in foreign

journals about us while our fortunes seemed so desperate and to foreign eyes we seemed wasting blood, but if the censorious spirit of the government prints in England continued, our people would infer the existence of a settled hostility to our institutions and country, which in our present financial condition we could not afford to wink at, and we should be obliged to make foreign powers respect us in the same way that we had won the respect of enemies at home; in other words, that a continuance of such evidences of hostility through the columns of official journals was calculated to derange all the hopes and plans of the statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic who desired peace. I am happy to observe that the *Post,* though it has not become friendly, is silent about us for the most part. It has been for a long time under the control of this government.

Very truly yours

I forgot to mention to you a fact which may serve to show that the union between the Archduke and Napoleon is not quite as complete as that between light and heat and that they are not therefore necessarily inseparable. The Archduke has been distributing orders, garters and decorations around among the crowned heads and legs, with a profusion proportioned inversely to their value. Among others to whom he paid the attention were all the members of the Orléans family. This was not, of course, intended to reach the ears of France, to whom nothing could be less acceptable, and therefore only the more clearly shows a disposition on the part of the Archduke to make friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness. There is a serious jar between the protector and the protected which seems to be taking larger and graver proportions every day.

Cannot Jefferson Davis be made to sue for pardon, to recognize his error and pray for the perpetuity and peace of the Union? The retroactive as well as prospective effect of such a surrender could not be overestimated. It would leave no basis for reactionists even in the South.

We are all gratified by the intelligence that Frederick is able to ride out.

Yours very sincerely

καὶ μὴν ἀρηγὼν
ἴσχον σοφισ-
-μάτων
ξένοισιν αὐτοῖς
χρωμάτων τι συνε-
-θεσαν
ἰσότιμον θ' ἁπάντων
μουσουπόλ ἐς-
-γάτην
THE·DE·VINNE·PRESS
IMPRIMATVR

...TE DUE

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Bigelow, John, 1817-1911.
Retrospections of an active life

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